HISTORY OF THE GAṄGAS

Part II

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Author's Note

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Bhubaneswar,
The 15th Jan, 1972 } *S. N. Rajaguru*

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HISTORY OF THE GAṄGA DYNASTY OF KALIṄGA

CHAPTER VII

FROM 626-27 A. D., the Gaṅgas ruled over the glorious country of Kaliṅga uninterruptedly for more than four hundred years from their capital city of Kaliṅganagara. Then, they conquered Utkala and unified it with their own kingdom in the first quarter of the 12th century A. D., when they shifted their headquarters from Kaliṅganagara to Vārāṇaśikaṭaka, the modern Cuttack on the banks of the Mahānadī.

During the last part of the rule of the Early-Gaṅgas, troubles arose on account of a contest for power between the then existing collateral branches of their family. We have already discussed about this hostility. Towards the end of the 10th century A. D., another line of the Gaṅgas rose into power and became the over-lord of Kaliṅga by unifying the five separated parts of Kaliṅga, hitherto divided among five branches of the family. In this connection, we like to cite the following verse, singing the achievements of Vajrahasta (IV) *alias* Aniyaṅkabhīma (981—1016 A. D.)—

> "pūrvaṃ bhūpatibhir-vibhajya vasudhā
> yā pañcabhiḥ pañcadhā,
> bhuktvā bhūriparākramād-bhujavalāt-
> tām-ēkam-ēva svayaṃ."

During this time, there followed a period of anarchy for 27 years, *i. e.*, from 972 A. D. to 999 A. D.[1]

[1] *E. I.*, VI, P. 358 ff. and *I. A.*, Vol. XX, P. 272 ff.

in the neighbouring country of Veṅgi when the Colas attempted to capture that unfortunate kingdom as well as Kaliṅga.

D. C. Ganguli remarks—

"Some time during the later part of this *interregnum,* the Cola Rājarāja took possession of the Āndhra country and Kaliṅga, probably defeating Yuddhamalla (III).

An inscription of the 21st year (A. D. 1005) of the king adds that he conquered Kaliṅga[1]".

With our present knowledge of the history of the Gaṅgas, we cannot trace out the exact relation between Veṅgi and Kaliṅga during that period, but the political condition in both the countries appears to have been shrouded in darkness. As different collateral aspirants in Veṅgi fought each other and weakened the resisting power of that country, so also in Kaliṅga the different branches of the Gaṅgas might have struggled against each other only to make the field open for some outside powers to march into their own land.

At first instance we find that Ammarāja (I) and Cālukyabhīma (925 A. D.) of Veṅgi used the glorious title of *Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati.* But, afterwards that family made an aliance with the Gaṅgas probably through matrimonial relationship.

The 4th king in the first genealogical table of the Gaṅgas is Kāmārṇava (I) 943—78 A. D.) and his younger brother, Vinayāditya (978—81), is the 5th king. They allied with the senior line of the Cālukyas of Veṅgi when that country was facing trouble on account of some internal disturbances.

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X

In a battle Kāmārṇava (I) and Vinayāditya were killed, according to Kanchipuram inscription[1]. It is stated there that one Jaṭā cola bhīma led an expedition to Kaliṅga at that moment. In spite of the fact that some portions of this inscription have been mutilated, we find the name of Kāmārṇava in it. The identification of Kāmārṇava cannot be conclusive since we get the name of Madhukāmārṇava in the senior line of the Gaṅgas (*I. O.*, Vol, II, No. 38) who must have been killed in a pitched battle. The relevant lines of the said inscription are quoted hereunder—

> Dānārṇṇava-nṛpakāmau yō yudhi
> sat-sakala-sainyam-abhihatya dēśa [m]
> mavinōt parinētum-īśaḥ [I] citram
> sudūram = api cāru-ku...mmantaṃ
> Kāmārṇṇavaṃ = divam = ani...
> bhūt [I]vyaktaṃ vyasisma patatat =
> svati-vaiparītyā Kāmārṇṇavaṃ bhuvi-nayan...
> ta Vinayād = anya-bhūpatēḥ...

Kāmārṇava (I) ruled for 35 years (943— 78 A. D.), and after him, his younger brother, Vinayāditya, ruled for 3 years (978—81 A. D.). According to B. V. Krishna Rao, "the hostilities between the E. Gaṅgas and the E. Cālukya—overlord of Jaṭācola-bhīma would appear to have continued unabated for at least three years or more. Cola Trinetra claims to have killed Vinayāditya also on the battle field[2]". Kāmārṇava (I) seems to have established his relationship with Dānārṇava (970—73 A. D.), an Eastern Cālukya king of Veṅgi, whose mother Aṅkidevī, according to Krishna Rao, was a Kaliṅga Princess and probably a sister of Kāmārṇava (I).

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[1] *E. I.* XXI, PP. 29—34 ff.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, P. 37 ff.

It is because of this matrimonial relationship that Kāmārṇava and Vinayāditya must have proceeded to the south to assist their brother-in-law (Dānārṇava) who was then attacked by Bāḍapa, a collateral aspirant for the Cālukyan throne. That was probably a period of weakness in the Government of Kaliṅga, for a hostile Somavaṁśī King, Yayāti, was able to capture easily the province of Trikaliṅga and used the glorious title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. It is interesting to note here that in the Patna plates of Yayāti-Mahāśivagupta (*Circa* 945—70 A. D.)[1] there is a verse describing the achievements of Yayāti and stating that he captured some excellent war-elephants headed by one named *Kāmadeva* :—

"mādyal-lōlālimālākula-karaṭapuṭa-
syandi-dāna-pravāhān.
sindūr-ārakta-kumbhān sita-pṛthula-radān
Kāmadēvādi-sajñān."

Then, he defeated one Ajāpāla in the battle-field :—

"jitvā-jāpālam-ājaw janita-suravadhū-
vismaya-smēra-vaktraḥ.
sa dvātriṁśāt-karīndrān śiranikara-hatā-
rōhakān-ya-grahid-yaḥ."

Meanwhile, the sudden rise of the Somavaṁśī Kings, after the downfall of the Bhauma-karas of Tosali, in or about 930 A. D., caused disturbance in Kaliṅga, when the senior branch of the Gaṅgas was on the verge of losing its supremacy. Eventually, the usage of the *Gaṅga Era* was intermittently abandoned from the Gaṅga records for some decades after 939 A. D, (i. e., *G. E.* 313). Like the Eastern Cālukyas

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. I (1905), PP. 19—23 ff.

of Veṅgi, the Gaṅgas also had to face some internal troubles in the form of civil war owing to rebellious conduct of some collateral aspirants to the throne of the family. That, however, minimized their strength and encouraged some hostile powers of the neighbouring countries, particularly the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi and the Somavaṁśī Kings of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, in seizing a strategic area of the Gaṅga-kingdom called Trikaliṅga.[1]

Immediately after this, the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* was used by the Somavaṁśī Kings as a hereditary title. The first known king of that family who used that title is Mahābhavagupta[2], son of Mahāśivagupta (Vide *I. H. Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 245—47 ff.). After him, it was regularly used by his descendants, namely

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[1] The geographical position of Trikaliṅga which was equal to the high-lands of Kaliṅga, is discussed by me in *I. Q.*, Vol. II, pp. 331—34 ff.

[2] (*a*) Vakratentali grant of Mahābhavagupta (Vide *E. I.*, XI, pp. 93—95 ff.)

(*b*) Nibinna Charter of Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti (Vide *E. I.*, XI, pp. 95—98 ff.)

(*c*) Patna Museum Plates of Yayāti Mahāśivagupta (Vide *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. I, 1905, P.1, P.16 & 19 ff.)

(*d*) Kalibhana plates of Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta (Vide *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 238—50 ff. and P. 245 ff.)

(*e*) Patna Museum plates of Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta (Vide *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 1—23 ff.)

(*f*) Narasinghpur plates of Udyōtakeśarī-Mahābhavagupta (Vide *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, P. 1 ff.)

(*g*) Sonpur plates of Janamējaya-Mahābhavagupta (Vide *E. I.*, XXIII, P. 248 ff.)

(*h*) The Māhakośala Historical Society plates of Mahābhavagupta (Vide *E. I.*, XXII, P. 135 ff.)

(*i*) Nagpur Museum plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya (Vide *E. I.*, VIII, P. 138 ff.)

(*j*) Jatesinga and Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (Vide *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, P. 45 ff.)

Yayāti Mahāśivagupta, Bhīmaratha-Mahābhavagupta, Udyotakeśari Mahābhavagupta and Karṇadeva Mahāśivagupta. Of course, one Yaśakarṇa of the Cedi family of Ḍāhāla also used the same title, but it was only for a short period.

We append below the pedigree of the Somavaṁśī Kings of D. Kośala and Utkala, who played an important role in the history of Utkala and Kaliṅga. We have fixed the reigning period of each king (after A. D. 1000) of this family on a tentative bases.

(*k*) Patna plates of Janamējaya-Mahābhavagupta (Vide *E. I.*, III, P. 340 ff.)

(*l*) Chauduar plates of Janamējaya-Mahābhavagupta (Vide *E. I.*, III, P. 345 and *I. A.*, Vol. V,. P. 55 ff.)

(*m*) Cuttack plates of Bhīmaratha-Mahābhavagupta (Vide *E. I.*, III, P. 355 ff.)

(*n*) Cuttack plates of Yayāti (*Ibid*, P. 351 ff.)

(*o*) Brahmesvara temple—Inscription of Udyotakeśari (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, 1838, P. 557 ff. and *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. XIII, 1947, P. 63 ff.)

(*p*) Ratnagiri plates of Somavaṁśi Karṇadeva (Vide *E. I.*, XXXIII, P. 269 ff.)

(*q*) Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya (Vide *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. XI, P. 192)

(*r*) Kalibhana plates of Janamējaya (*I. H. Q.*, Vol. XX, P. 245)

(*s*) Patna Museum plates of Yayāti (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. I, 1905, P. 14)

(*t*) Patna plates of Yayāti (*Ibid*, P. 19)

(*u*) Kudapalli plates of Mahābhavagupta (Vide *E. I.*, IV., P. 254)

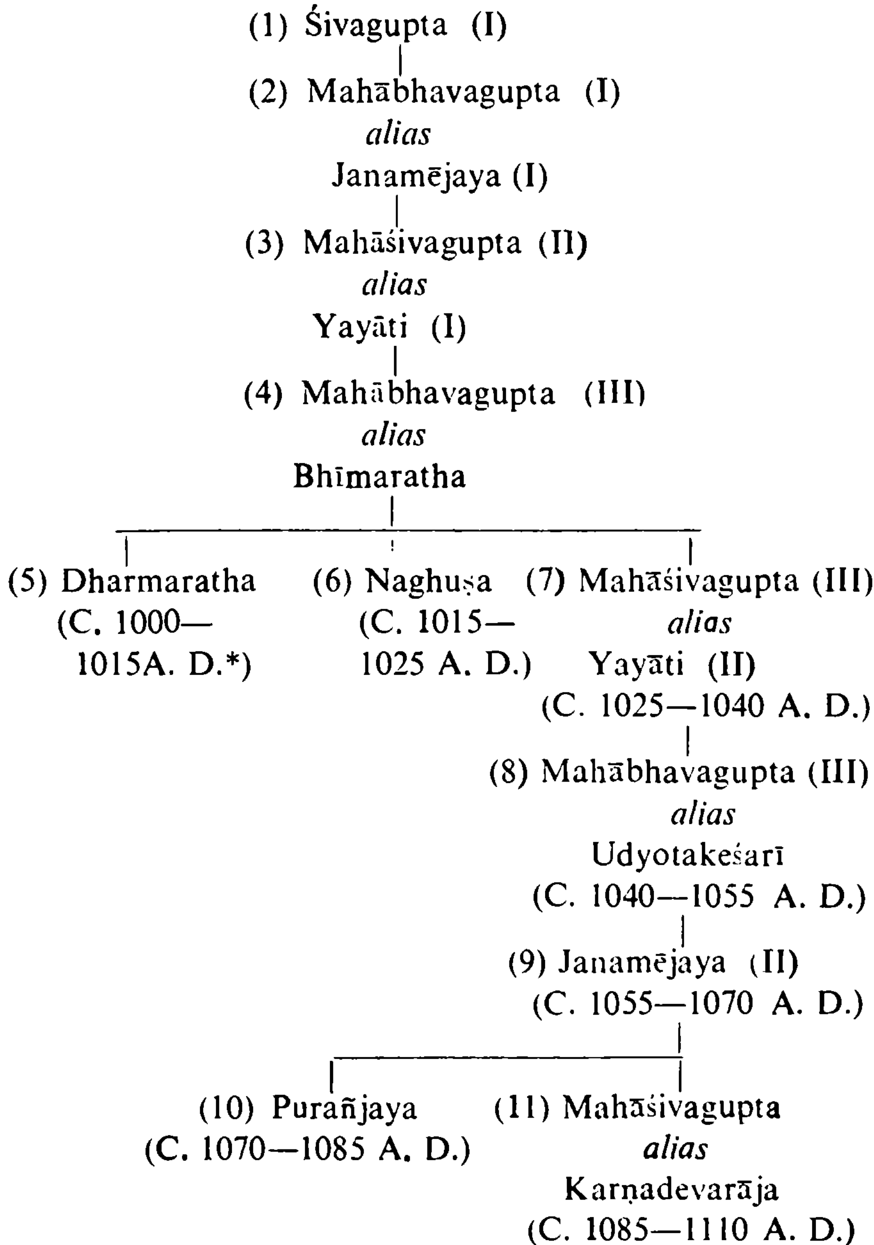
(*v*) Orissa Museum plates of Mahāsivagupta Yayāti (To be edited by the author) in (*O. H. R. J.*, Vol. XII)

(*w*) Khandaparaj plates of Dharmaratha (Vide *Ibid*)

(*x*) Sonpur plates of *Kumara* Somesvaradēva (Vide *E. I.*, XII, P. 237)

(*y*) Stone Inscriptions of Udyotakeśari in the Khaṇḍagiri Cave (*E. I.*, XXIII, P. 166)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ŚOMAVAMŚI KINGS



* The dates given here are tentative.

Mahāśivagupta *alias* Yayāti (II), while using the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, claims that he was a terror to the kings of Karṇṇāṭa, Lāṭa and Gurjara; the captor of the land of Kāñcī; the overlord of Kaliṅga, Koṅgada, Utkala and Kośala; the striker of Gauḍa and Rāḍha and the sweet-full-moon in the clear sky of the family of the moon, and has become the lord of Trikaliṅga by his own valour.

The passage runs as follows :—

"Karṇṇāṭa-Lāta - Gurjjarēśvara - dāhajvarō; bhūvita-kalatra - Kāñcīkalāp = ābharaṇa-lampaṭaḥ; Kaliṅga-Kōṅgad = ōtkala-Kōsalā-svayaṁbara-prasiddha[ḥ]; Gauḍa-Rāḍhāṁbar = aprakarṣaṇ = ōdghāta-mārutaḥ; sītāṁśu-vaṁśa-vimal = āṁbara-pūrṇṇacandraḥ; sva-bhuj = ōpār-jjita-Trikaliṅg = ādhipatiḥ............"

He (Yayāti-I), being a contemporary of the great Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛiṣṇa (III), we presume that he made an alliance with him and overpowered several great kings of Dākṣiṇātya including Gauḍa and Rāḍha. He unified Kośala and Utkala[1] after capturing the country of Trikaliṅga which was probably hitherto taken over by some Cālukyan kings of Veṅgi like Āmmā (II). The exact locality of Trikaliṅga which was a bone of contest among the E. Gaṅgas, the E. Cālukyas, the Somavaṁśis and the Cedis, may be traced out, with some amount of certainty, near the Ganjam-agency including some portions of the districts of Koraput, Kalahandi and Phulbani. Thus, it possessed of great strategic importance in those days when elephants and aboriginal tribes were considered to be of vital use for war. So long as Trikaliṅga was under the possession of the Early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, they could maintain peace and tranquillity

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, P. 1

in their own kingdom. But, afterwards when it was passed to the Somavaṁśi kings of D. Kośala and Utkala, they became more powerful than the Gaṅgas.

It is needless to say that the Colas in the south rose into power when Rājendracola (I) came to the throne (1012—44 A. D.). He was a contemporary of Bhīmaratha whose war-chariots moved from the Sētu in the south as far as the Himālaya in the north.

The verse is quoted below :—

"yasmin dig = vijay = āvatāraṇa purā
vidvēṣi-bhūmībhujā
prāptātha = ntya-digantaraṃ tadanu ca
sphītā-camū-reṇavaḥ.
sētūpānta-vanāntarē himavataḥ-
paryanta-bhū-sīmanī
prāg = aṁbhōdhi-taṭī-vanīṣu kaṭakē
pūrv = ētara-kṣmābhṛtaḥ."[1]

His son Dharmaratha claims that he burnt the cities of the countries of Āndhra and Gauḍa.[2]

Might be that his aggression was afterwards revenged by Rājendra Cola (I) when his army marched through Cakrakoṭa, Yayātinagara, Kośala, Oḍra and Daṇḍabhuktī. A translation of the Tamil version in his *Praśasti*, as made by Nilakanta Sastri[3], is quoted below :—

"(He seized) *Śakkarakkoṭam*, whose warriors were brave ; *Madurā-Maṇḍalam* was destroyed in trice ; the prosperous city of Nā-manaik-koṇam with its dense groves, Pañcap-palli whose warriors (bore) cruel bows, Masuṇi-deśa with its green fields; a large heap of family - treasures together with many (other) treasures

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[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, P. 1 ff.

[2] *Ins. Or.*, Vol. IV, P. 375 ff.

[3] *The Colas*, Vol. I, P. 162 ff.

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(which he carried away) after having captured Indraratha[1] of the ancient race of the moon, together with (his) family, in a fight which took place (at) Ādinagar[2] (a city) whose great fame knew no decline; Oḍḍa-viṣaya which was difficult to approach on account of its dense forest defence; the good Kosalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmins assembled; Taṇḍabutti[3], in whose gardens bees abounded, (land which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Raṇasūra.........."

The struggle, between the Gaṅgas and the Cālukyas,[4] which continued from the 9th century onwards, has at last come to an end after the death of Kāmārṇava (I) and his younger brother, Vinayāditya, in or about 981 A. D. Immediately after this, Vajrahasta (IV) unified all the five parts of Kaliṅga which were hitherto separated among the five collateral branches of the Gaṅgas. Most probably, the reason for the struggle between Kaliṅga and Veṅgi, as stated above, was due to some family feud that existed among the Gaṅgas and the E. Cālukyas resorting from matrimonial ties. From a copperplate grant of Vajrahasta, (Vide No. 37, *I. O.*, Vol. II), we know that he was related to a Cālukyan Prince

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[1] In the text it is *dhiratarau* which may also be pronounced as Dharmaratha. In the genealogy of the Somavaṁśī Kings, Dharmaratha came to the throne in *Circa* 1000 A. D.

[2] *Ādinagar* in Tamil-record may be read as Yayātinagara, the capital city of the Somavaṁśī Kings of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala.

[3] It is Daṇḍabhukti.

[4] This struggle was probably started from the time of Gaṅga Vijayāditya (844—888 A. D.) who defeated the Gaṅgas and got some elephants as tribute (Vide. *E. I.*, IV, P. 226 ff.). Another Cālukyan King named Kollabhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya (IV) claims to have conquered Kaliṅga in 918 A. D., when he got possession of some forest regions of *Trikaliṅga* (Vide *I. A.*, Vol. XX, P. 104 ff.). Another king, Vikramāditya (II) (925 A. D.) boasted of have possessed the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* (*Ibid.* P. 269 ff.).

named Erupamarāja, son of Kāmaḍirāja of Naggari-Sāluki dynasty. It is, therefore. evident that the Gaṅgas had established relationship with the Cālukyas since a pretty long time. Eventually, they have received from and given to the Cālukyas all possible help at the time of their need. Taking notice of that Gaṅga-Cālukyas contact in Kaliṅga and Veṅgi, the Colas, the Somavaṁśī Kings and even the Cedis and Rāṣṭrakūṭas resorted to aggression against these two unfortunate lands. At this moment of calamity in the history of Kaliṅga, the Gaṅgas lost the best part of their land, Trikaliṅga, for a long time to come *i. e.*, at least up to 1038 A. D., when Vajrahasta-(V)'s accession took place.

Now, the rivalry between the Colas and the Somavaṁśī Kings may be explained by two possible reasons, *viz.* that they both intended to expand their territories by capturing Kaliṅga and that they were interested in contesting with some collateral branches of the Gaṅgas. So, Yayāti and his descendant, Dharmaratha (or Indraratha), after possible collaboration with the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭas, advanced as far south as Simhala[1] and Sētu. Probably, that was the period when Parāntaka (I), (907—953 A. D.) was on the Cola-throne.

The last part of his reign was full of misery owing to interference of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King, Kriṣṇa (III). Consequently, Yayāti and Dharmaratha's raids should have been accomplished during that troubled

[1] While editing in a faulty manner the Muranja-Mura Charter of Yayāti, B. C. Majumdar says :—

"Yayāti, I should say, did not even dream that he should proceed to those far off countries". (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, P. 50 ff.). It is due to lack of information regarding the then-prevailing situation in the Deccan. Then he made this faulty remark. But, actually the reverse is the truth.

period in the history of the Colas. The Vaidumbas of Kāñchipura, who were previously subordinates under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, had subsequently attained sufficient strength to check the rise of the Colas, even after the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King, Kriṣṇa (III)'s death in 968 A. D. It should be noted here that the Vaidumbas had matrimonial alliance with the Gaṅgas which is evident from some Gaṅga-records (Vide *I. O.*, Vol. III, No. I and Apps. I-A and I-B). Kāmārṇava (IV) married a Vaidumba princess named Vinayamahādevī who was the mother of Vajrahasta (V). Thus, we infer that the Colas and the Gaṅgas were not on friendly terms.

Rājendracola (I) ascended the throne in 985 A. D. A few years before it, Kāmārṇava (I) and his brother, Vinayāditya, were killed in a battle-field by Bāḍapa and Cola Trinetra. Immediately after his accession, Rājendra Cola defeated his paternal enemies including the kings of Veṅgi and Kaliṅga.

In this connection we may cite the following verse from his Kanyākumāri inscription:—

bhrātṛbhyāṃ sam=upēkṣitaṃ janapadaṃ
vaṁśakram=ābhy=āgataṃ
krāntaṃ vairi-mahēśvarair=ativalair=
Vēṅgīn Kaliṅgān=api ।
jitvā śatṛparaṁparām=ativalaṃ
hitvā ca bhītvān vahūn[1]

Again, in Tiruvālangādu plates, it is stated that in his time one Aranmbolivarman of his family defeated the kings of Kaliṅga, Veṅgi and Ōḍra, together with many other countries (Vide *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, P. 417 ff.). Another inscription of Rājendra Cola gives the following verse :—

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[1] The Travancore *Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, P. 148. ff.

"svasēnādhīśāna-pratihata-Kulūt=Ōtkalapatiḥ
Kaliṅgān Viṁśēndrais=saha-vahala-vīryān
vidalayan." [1]

It is quite significant to note here that these victories over Utkala, Kaliṅga and Ōḍra were not obtained by a single person. From Kulenur inscription of the Cedi king,[2] we get a hint that Gāṅgeyadeva, a contemporary of Rājendra, had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhoja and Rājendra Cola (I) to attack a Cālukyan king, Jayasiṁha, from three quarters. According to V. V. Mirashi, "victory does not appear to have always attended the allies; for the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasiṁha's cousin, Kuṇḍarāja."[3] Kuṇḍarāja's identity is not traced since there was none of this name in the Cālukya family.[4] We may say that he was a Gaṅga Prince of Kaliṅga named Guṇḍarāja or Guṇḍama (II) (1016—19 A.D.) who might have been a cousin of the Cālukya Jayasiṁha through some matrimonial alliance. It is he (Guṇḍama) who saved his cousin (Jayasiṁha) when he was attacked from three sides by Rājendra Cola (I), Bhoja of Paramāra dynasty and Gāṅgeyadeva of the Cedi dynasty. Immediately after this, Gāṅgeya attacked Utkala[5]. Here too the same technique of forming of confederacy seems to have been used; because in the same period not only Gāṅgeya and Rājendra Cola but also their friend Bhoja of Dhārā claimed victory over Utkala. The name of the Utkala king in the Tamil inscriptions is given as "Dhīrataran". In the Udepur *Praśasti* it is recorded as "Indraratha".

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pt. i, PP. 69–70 ff.
[2] *E. I.*, XV, P. 330 f.
[3] *Ibid.*, XXIV, P. 16 f.
[4] *The Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. II, P. 37 f.
[5] *E. I.*, XIX, P. 79 f.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says. "It seems to me that Indraratha was the dominating ruler of the whole region and these were places of importance in his territory; and Indraratha must have belonged to the dynasty of the Somavaṁśīs of Cuttack, a ruler who has not yet come within the ken of the epigraphist, though no doubt that Kielhorn noted an Indraratha among those defeated by king Bhōja of Dhārā".[1] Regarding the identification of Indraratha, A. C. Banerjee says, "this king has not been identified with any known member of any Orissan dynasty. In the Cola records this family is said to belong to the lunar race. In the Udepur *Praśasti* of the Paramāra King Udayāditya, mention is made of a king named Indraratha, defeated by Bhoja............ The known dates of Bhoja range from V. S. 1076 to 1103" (*i. e.* 1019 to 1046 A. D.)[2]. We have recently got a king of this name in the pedigree of the Somavaṁśī Kings. But, I am inclined to identify Dhirataran with Dharmaratha or one of his cousins, posted in the Sonpur area which was called Paścima Laṅkā.

Dharmaratha's *digvijaya* is recorded in Narasinghpur Plates of Udyotakeśarī as follows :—

"Setūpānta-vanāntare himavataḥ
paryanta bhū-sīmani
Prāg=aṁbhodhi-taṭīvaniṣu kaṭake
Pūrvvetara-kṣmābhṛtaḥ.
Yasy=ōtkaṁpad=arāti-rāja-yuvatī-
niḥśvāsa-jhañjānilair=
vvyāsaṅga-svanad=antarāla-mukharair=
gītaṁ yaśaḥ kīcakaiḥ".[3]

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[1] Sir Asutosh Mukharji's Silver Jubilee Vols., *The Orientalia*, Pt. II, P. 541 f.

[2] *J. R. A. S. B.*, 1936, P. 658 ff.

[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, P. 1 ff.

From this verse it is quite clear that he achieved a great victory over Sētu in the South as far as the foot of the Himālaya. Probably, like the confederacy of Rājendra, Gaṅgeya and Bhoja against Utkala, he joined hands with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kriṣṇa (III). But, after Kriṣṇa, in his (Dharmaratha's) old age he must have been attacked by these enemies in retaliation.

The Ratnagiri plates of the Somavaṁśī Karṇadeva disclose that Janamējay (II) had defeated one Nāgarāja as given in the following verse :—

"kṛpāṇa-dhār = ādhara-dhauta-vairi-
bhūpāla-kāntā-mṛganābhi-paṅkaḥ .
vasuṁdhar = ādhāra-mahā-dhurīṇa-
dōḥ-kāṇḍa-nirbharchita-Nāgarājaḥ".[1]

Nāgarāja may be identified with a contemporary Nāga King of the country of Cakrakoṭa, situated within the modern districts of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and the Koraput and Kalāhandi districts in Orissa. Janamējaya's struggle with a Nāga King of those tracts which were contiguous to south Kaliṅg, was probably due to his political hold on Trikaliṅga.

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[1] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kriṣṇa (III), according to Karhad plates of śakābda 880 (958 A. D.), claims to have subdued the kings of Gurjara, Lāṭa, Gauḍa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha ;—

yasya = ottarjjita-Gurjjaro hṛta-haṭal = Lāṭodbhaṭa-śrīmado
Gauḍānāṁ vinaya-vrat = ārpaṇa-guruḥ Sāmudra-nidrā-haraḥ.
dvārasth = Aṅga-Kaliṅga-Gāṅga-Magadhair = abhyarccit = ājñaś = ciraṁ
sūnus = sūnṛta-vadbhuvaḥ parivṛtaḥ Śrīkṛṣṇarājo = 'bhavat".
(Vide *E. I.*, IV., P. 283 ff.)

These countries were also claimed to have been subjugated by Yayāti Mahāśivagupta. There is, therefore, no wonder that Yayāti participated with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King during his campaign against those countries.

(Vide *E. I.*, XXXIII, P. 263 ff.)

After Janamējaya (II). his two sons, namely Purañjaya and Karṇadeva, succeeded to the throne of Utkala, one after the other. From literary sources we learn that Karṇadeva *alias* Karṇakeśarī was defeated by Coḍagaṅga on or before 1111 A. D., when Kaliṅga and Utkala were amalgamated into one kingdom. The hostility between the Somavaṁśi Kings of D. Kośala and Utkala and the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga was not started abruptly in the time of Karṇadeva, but continued from the begining of the tenth century, presumably from the time of Yayāti (II) who used the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*.

After Janamejaya (II), his elder son, Purañjaya, came to the throne of Utkala towards the second half of the 11th century.* He claims to have over-powered some neighbouring kings of Gauḍa, Ḍāhāla, Kaliṅga and Veṅgi. In lines 25—27 of the above-mentioned Ratnagiri plates we get the following verse which sings the glory of Janamējaya (II)—

"Gauḍa-Ḍāhāla-Kaliṅga-Vaṅgajā-
bhūbhujo bhuja-nivārit = āraya.
te'pi yasya bhuja-sāra-śaṅkayā
kaṁpamānam = aniśam = manōvadhuḥ".

Since Purañjaya's brother, Karṇadeva, ended his reign during the first half of Coḍagaṅga's rule, it is quite probable that Purañjaya was a contemporary of Coḍagaṅga's grand father Vajrahasta (V) who was involved in a political struggle with Devendravarman, a member of the senior line of the Gaṅgas, together with his subordinate Bhīmakheḍi of the Kadamba family. Presumably, Purañjaya was supported by

* For other details regarding the Somavaṁśi Kings, please see my *Ins. Or.*, Vol. IV.

them (*i. e*, Devendravarman and Bhīmakheḍi) against Vajrahasta so that he could attain some temporary victory over south Kaliṅga and consequently assumed the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati.*

It is not out of place to say that according to Madagrama grant of *Rāṇaka* Bhīmakheḍi, a Kadamba Chief under Devendravarman of the senior line, a charter was issued by him in Śakābda 988 (na-śata-aṣṭāśīti) or 1066 A. D. from the city of Dantapura.[1] Twenty-one years before, in ś 967, Vajrahasta (V) of the Junior line issued his charter from the same city of Dantapura.[2] Since Vajrahasta's second name is Anantavarman, it is not proper to identify him with Devendravarman, the overlord of Bhīmakheḍi. From the context we find that a contest for overlordship between Devendravarman and Vajrahasta (V) was going on at Dantapura, which was under the possession of the latter in ś 967 and captured by the former through his vassal Bhīmakheḍi in ś 988.

We are in possession of eight copperplate grants issued by Vajrahasta[3] (V) from his capital Kaliṅganagara, but never from Dantapura. It proves that the northern portion of Kaliṅga, beyond the Mahendra range of mountains, was under the control of Devendravarman while the southern half, including Kaliṅganagara (Mukhaliṅga), was under Vajrahasta (V).

The location of Dantapura, therefore, should be traced out somewhere between the modern Mandasā and Bārua in Śrīkakulam district where the Kheḍis

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1 *E. I.*, XXXI, PP. 45—52 ff. *Ins. Or.*, Vol. II, PP. 217—222 ff.

2 *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Pt. i, No. 1

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Pt. i, Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11 and supplement Nos. 6—A and 6—B.

or Kadambas lived on the out-post of the Gaṅgas. They used the titles of *Rāṇaka, Pañcaviṣayādhipati* and *Mahāmāṇḍalika* under the senior branch of the Gaṅgas. Most of their grants were issued from Mahendrabhōga Viṣaya and Bhiliṅgābhōga Viṣaya which should be identified with the village Bhilingi, in Cikati taluk of Ganjam district. After the downfall of the Bhaumakara Kings from Toṣali, the northern half of Ganjam, formerly known as Koṅgada, was captured by a branch of the Gaṅgas who must have established friendly relation with the then rising power of the Somavaṁśī Kings in Utkala. Thus, a confederacy formed by Purañjaya, Devendravarman and Bhīmakheḍi against Vajrahasta (V) is quite plausible. The hostility between the Somavaṁśī Kings of Utkala and the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, therefore, continued for a pretty long time, when at last, the great King Coḍagaṅga of the latter family inflicted such a crushing defeat to Karṇadeva, the younger brother of Purañjaya, that after 1111 A. D. the Somavaṁśī house was completely wiped out from Utkala.

It is this unsettled position in Kaliṅga and Utkala which disturbed the harmony of some neighbouring countries like Cakrakoṭa, Dakṣiṇa-Kośala and Vaṅga and apparently attracted the Colas for aggression from the 10th century onwards. Rājendra Cola's invasion as far as the Gaṅga land and his easy capture of Cakrakoṭa, Yayātinagara (Yādinagara of Tamil-records) and Vaṅga happened to be the immediate outcome of that unsettled condition which prevailed in these countries.

ANANTAVARMAN VAJRAHASTA—V
(A. D. 1038—1069)

Anantavarman Vajrahasta is the tenth king in the line of Guṇārṇava (*see* Appendix I-A and I-B). But, he is the twelfth King from the same starting point, according to the list shown in *Appendix I-C.*, where two more names are added, *i. e.*, Jitāṅkuśa and Kaliṅgalāṅkuśa. The total number of regnal years, after Guṇārṇava up to the date of accession of Vajrahasta (V) *i.e.*, Śakābda 960, is about eighty. So, this family had come into prominence some time in 890 A. D. corresponding to 264 *Gaṅga-era*. This is the precise time when Tribhuvana Mahādevī, a daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga or Janamējaya-Mahābhavagupta of Somavaṁśī family of D. Kośala[1], was ruling over the area of Toṣali, afterwards known as Utkala. During her reign, a Cedi King named Lakṣmaṇarāja, invaded the country of Oḍra, according to the Bilhārī inscription. From this time onwards the downfall of the Bhaumakaras in Utkala had practically started, although they struggled for existence for a few decades more. At the same time hostility between the senior and junior branches of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga also began to rot the structure of administration of the former line. Eventually, political unrest prevailed in the neighbouring regions of Veṅgi where the ruling family of the Cālukyas were divided into two groups of collateral contest for supremacy. Thus, there arose practically a period of unrest in the history of several countries, encircling Kaliṅga.

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[1] The Baud Plates of Tribhuvana Mahādevī were issued in [*Bhauma Saṁvat* 158] corresponding to (736 plus 158) = 894 A. D. (Vide *Ins., Or.*, Vol. IV, P. 367-68 ff.)

Vajrahasta-V's father, Madhu-Kāmārṇava, married one Vinaya-Mahādevī, a princess of the Vaidumba family of South India. The Vaidumbas started to rule at Kāñcīpuram under the Rāṣtrakūṭas and became subsequently independent.

In the family of the Vaidumbas there was a king named Śiva-Mahārāja, who, most probably, was the father of Vinaya-Mahādevī, the consort of Madhu Kāmārṇava and the mother of Vajrahasta-V. Therefore, the latter, during the days of trouble, granted lands to one Āditya Cotta of the Vaidumba family who was probably recruited by Vajrahasta for military purposes. With the help of the Vaidumbas presumably he succeeded in subjugating all the divided portions of Kaliṅga—an enterprise previously taken up by Vajrahasta-IV as seen in the following verse :—

"Pūrvaṃ bhūpatibhir = vibhajya-vaSudhā
yā pañcabhiḥ pancadhā.
bhuktvā bhūri-parākramād = bhuja-valāt =
tām = ēkav ē svayaṃ."

Vajrahasta's total number of grants, discovered up till now, is nine.[1] Apart from these copperplate charters, there are five stone inscriptions preserved in the temple of Madhu-keśvara at Mukhaliṅga[2] and one in the village of Urujam.[3] The first copper-plate inscription was issued in ś. 967 (1048 A. D.) from the city of Dantapura and the remaining charters were issued from Kaliṅganagara. He is the first king in the Gaṅga family who introduced a

[1] *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Pt. I, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6-A, 6-B, 7 and 11 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 3, 8, 9, 10 and 13 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 2-A ff.

new type of family *praśasti*, starting from Guṇārṇava, as shown in the *Appendix I-A*.

His relationship with the Vaidumbas of Kāñcīpura is known from inscriptions. He granted a village to one Āditya Cotta who possessed the title of *Vīrabhūriśravā* and who was the son of Cotta-Bādayarāja of the Vaidumba family (No. 1).[1] Another grant he made in favour of one Gaṇapati Nāyaka who came from Kāñcī (No. 2).

Record (No. 8) says that in ś. 990 or 1068 A. D. a queen of Vajrahasta[2] endowed a perpetual lamp to Madhukeśvara at Mukhalinga. She claimes to be the princess of a king of the Haihaya dynasty and her mother is the daughter of Bhīma, probably Cālukya-Bhīma of Veṅgi. Thus, there was matrimonial relationship established between the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, the Haihayas of Ḍāhāla and the Cālukyas of Veṅgi.

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RĀJARĀJADEVA (I)
(A. D. 1070—1078)

Vajrahasta (V)'s son was Rājarājadeva (I) or Devendravarman whose consecration took place on the 20th May, 1070 A. D., Thursday. During his reign, the Colas began to raid over Kaliṅga. Rājendra Cola or Kulōttuṅg (I) fought with him immediately after the latter came to the throne; but he (Rājēndra) was defeated and gave his daughter, Rājasundarī, in

[1] These Nos. are given from *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol, III, Pt. I.

[2] According to the Gaṅga copperplates of the latter age, Vajrahasta's Chief-Queen was Naṅgamā from whom was born Rājarāja (Vide *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V., No. I P. 9 ff.)

marriage to Rājarāja on the basis of compromise. The following verse is found in his *Praśasti* :—

"sa Rājarājaḥ prathamaṃ jaya-śriyaḥ
patir-vabhūva Dravil = āhav = ōstavē.
Virājamānām = atha Rājasundarīm =
udūḍhavānś = Coḍa-mahībhuj = ātmajāṃ".

Kulottuṅga-Rājēndra came to the Cola-throne in 1070 A. D. In the same year, Rājarāja's accession took place in Kaliṅga. At the same time, Rājēndra left the administration of Veṅgi in the hands of his paternal uncle, Vijayāditya (VII). But, after a short while, misunderstanding prevailed between them which embittered their relationship. Kulottuṅga Rājēndra ousted his uncle (Vijayāditya) from Veṅgi and appointed one Daddārṇava in his place. There is, however, no account of Daddārṇava in the records of the Cālukyas. His name is only mentioned in the Dīrghāsi Inscription[1] where there is a description of Vanapati's, a commander of Rājarāja (I)'s, achievements in several battle fields. It is stated that he was victorious in wars, fought against the Kings of Cola, Utkala, Khimiḍi, Kośala, Giḍrisiṅgi and Veṅgi. The following verses are quoted from that inscription :—

"Ājāvasau Coḍa-nṛpasya sēnā
mahāvanasy = āsya mṛgākulasya.
mattēbhasāra-dṛma-ghūrṇṇitasya
dāvānalō = 'bhūt calamūrtti-gaṇḍaḥ".

"ten = ājau Coḍa-sēnā-vana-dava-dahanō
nāśuga-prāpta-śastrī-
nistriṁśa-jvālakēn = Ōtkala-gaja-turag =
ānīkinī-nātha-bhūjā.

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1 *E. I.*, IV, P. 316 f.

nirdagdhā-bhagnamūlā-nipatita-śirasaś =
chhinna-vāhūru-śākhā
dṛsyantē'dyāpibhūta-kṣaya iva dhavalair =
astibhir = jjīrṇṇa-māṅsaiḥ.

Jitvā muhur = Veṅgi-dharādhināthaṃ
yasy = ājahār = ākhila-vastu-rāśiṃ.
Daddārṇṇavas = tēna yamāya dūtaḥ
prasthāpitō dig-jaya-kīrttanāya".

The Telugu version given in the same record (No. 15)* sings the glory of Vanapati. It says that he overpowered the Kings of Kimiḍi, Kośala, Oḍra, Utkala and Veṅgi.

It is quite probable that Rājarāja, after making his own position secure in the neighbouring countries, concentrated his activities and power to give a crushing defeat to Rājendra Cola or Kulōttuṅg (I) in or about 1070-71 A. D. *i. e.*, before A. D. 1075, when the said Dirghasi inscription was incised.

Soon after this, Rājarāja should have settled the boundary dispute between Kaliṅga and Veṅgi and left the latter in the hands of his father-in-law, Kulottuṅga-Rājēndra, who appointed his son Mummudicoḍa, as the Viceroy of Veṅgi. After this, in A. D. 1076, Kulottuṅga's third son, Vīracoḍa was appointed in Veṅgi as Viceroy in the place of Mummudicoḍa and continued to rule that country from A. D. 1077—84.

In 1077 A. D., Rājarāja died leaving two baby sons, namely Coḍagaṅga and Permāḍi, whose mothers were Rājasundarī and Atyayā respectively. The former was the sister of Vīracoḍa, the then Viceroy of Veṅgi. So, after the death of Rājarāja, the royal

* Vide *Ins. Or.*, Vol. III, Pt. i, PP. 19-20 ff.

 family of Kaliṅga must have been under the protection of Vīracoḍa[1] when several powers encircled the kingdom to disrupt it.

ANANTAVARMAN COḌAGAṄGADEVA
(A. D. 1078—1047)

Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga is one of the most powerful monarchs in the Gaṅga dynasty. His reign covered a long period of seventy years. According to some copperplate grants, his consecration *(Abhiṣekaṃ)* had taken place on the 17th of February, 1071 A. D. Saturday, (Vide *Appendix II—C, I. O.*, Vol. III, Pt. ii) when his age was not more than seven years. According to the *Dharmaśāstras*, the consecration ceremony of a king cannot be performed unless and until he gets a queen to sit by his side. Therefore, Coḍagaṅga must have been married to a young girl, less than his age before the date of his *Abhiṣekaṃ*. Again, according to an existing social practice in South-India, he had to marry a daughter of his own maternal uncle.[2] In this connection, the following points which I have discussed previously in my paper on "*The Kenduli copperplate grant of Narasiṁhadeva of śaka 1305*", published in the *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V., No. 1, pp. 1—100 ff. are re-produced here under :—

Kulottuṅga appointed his second son Mummudicoḍa as a viceroy of Veṅgi in 1076 A. D., *i. e.*, after the treaty with Rājarāja of Kaliṅga. But, Mummudi did not like to stay at Veṅgi, probably apprehending

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[1] For other details, see my article in *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V., No. 1, PP. 49—54 ff.

[2] "Dakṣinē mātulā kanyā" is a popular tradition.

danger from Kaliṅga or from his brother Vīracoḍa who was not in good terms with him . So, after a few months, the third son of Kulottuṅga, Vīracoḍa, was sent to Veṅgi as Viceroy, and ruled there from 1078—84 A. D. for the first time and from 1088-89 to 1092-93 A. D. for second time. After 1093 A. D. Kulottuṅga's fourth son, Vikramacoḍa, was appointed to the viceroyalty of Veṅgi and he continued to rule until he was chosen heirapparent to the Cola throne in 1118 A. D.[1] Vikramacoḍa took reprisal measures against Kaliṅga which fact is evident from epigraphical sources.

The first Kaliṅga-war took place in the 27th regnal year of Kulottuṅga, *i. e.*, 1094 A. D. All the battles were fought after Vīracoḍa left the office of the viceroyalty of Veṅgi. After his retirement what happened to him is not known from any of the Cola-records.

The first Kaliṅga-war was not severe, although the southern part of Kaliṅga is said to have been included in the Cola-empire. But, the second war against Kaliṅga seems to be more severe and decimating owing to the great destruction inflicted by the Cola army as described in the poem *Kaliṅgattupparāṇi.*[2] According to scholars, this war had taken place in or about 1110 A. D., and most probably Vikrama Coḍa, the 4th son of Kulottuṅga, took active part in it, although his name is nowhere found in that poem.

Now, the question is, what made Kulottuṅga and his 4th son fight against Kaliṅga ? Nilakantha Sastri says : "Anantavarmma Coḍagaṅga was the grandson of Kulottuṅga himself by his daughter, Rājasundarī. Dynastic connections, however, seldom availed to stop

[1] Nilakantha Sastri's *The colas*, Vol. II, PP. 31-32 ff.

[2] *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, pt. ii, Appx. IV ff.

the course of political ambition, and it would seem that Kulotuṅga was the aggressor on this occasion"[1].

The real cause of this war is not known; but, we may presume that family misunderstanding is at its root. It has not yet been satisfactorily explained as to why Kulottuṅga's first son was ignored while his younger brothers were given the chance of ruling over the Veṅgi kingdom in turns. This question leads us to suspect that there was no happy relationship among the brothers and that their old father (Kulottuṅga) used to transfer his affection from one son to another according to his whim and pleasure. The result was that each aspirant of power tried to gain the father's confidence and favour by every possible way. Thus, Vīracoḍa, the third son of Kulottuṅga, was twice appointed in Veṅgi as vicerory within a course of only four years or so. We are now in possession of one of his mutilated inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar and two inscriptions of his officers in the temple of Mukhaliṅgam where the *Srāhi* year of Coḍagaṅga-deva as 28 (1103 A. D.) and Śaka year 1042 have been recorded.[2]

These officers of Vīracoḍa are designated as the *Puravari* of Nakarapuvāḍa (Kaliṅganagara or the capital of Kaliṅga) and *Leṅkā*. It proves that there was full alliance between Coḍagaṅga and Vīracoḍa and that the latter's officers were in Kaliṅga in 1103 and 1120 A. D., *i. e.*, about 10 and 28 years after Vīracoḍa left the office of the vicerory of Veṅgi. What sort of relationship could he have had with Coḍagaṅga ? Dealing with this inscription, Sri B. V. Krishna Rao remarks that the date of it was

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pt. ii, PP. 37-38 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 57 and 44 & 74

wrongly read by K. Krishna Sastri; because there was no indication about the existence of Vīracoḍa. He further says that Vīracoḍa himself was the donor of the grant Mr. Krishna Rao has completely ignored the reading, *Puravari* (officer) of Vīracoḍa who is the actual donor[1]. Similarly, he was ignorant of Vīracoḍa's presence in Orissa.

In two inscriptions of the temple of Drākṣārāma, we find the name of Coḍadevī or Jayamgoṇḍān Coḍidevī who claims to be the chief-queen of Coḍagaṅgadeva with the title of *Kaliṅga Mahādevī*.[2] From her name we may say that she belonged to the Coḍa family. The popular custom in the south is that one should marry his own maternal uncle's daughter. This system is still in vogue in the Telugu and Tamil speaking districts. Accordingly, Coḍagaṅga should have married a daughter of one of his maternal uncles and the Coḍadevī of the Drākśārāma inscription, being the scion of the Coḍa family, was called Coḍadevī among the queens of Coḍagaṅga. Now, from the Cola-records we find that Kulottuṅga had four sons. The first son was not appointed as the Viceroy of Veṅgi. The second son came to Veṅgi as its Viceroy in 1076 A. D. when probably Coḍagaṅga was a mere baby or was not born at all. Then, the third son, Vīracoḍa, held the administration of Veṅgi. His rule terminated in or about 1093 A. D. when Coḍagaṅga was about seventeen years of age and fit for marriage. After Vīracoḍa, the fourth son of Kulottuṅga came to the throne of Veṅgi, and immediately started a fight against Kaliṅga. In consideration of these facts, it is quite probable that

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1 *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XII, P. 48 ff.

2 *S. I. I.*, Vol. V., Nos. 1052 (*A. R.* No. 217-A of 1993) and 1194 (*A. R.* No. 315 of 1893).

Coḍadevī was the daughter of no other maternal uncle of Coḍagaṅga than Vīracoḍa; otherwise, it would be hard to explain as to why he was present in Kaliṅga and one of his officers visited the temples at Mukhaliṅgam at the moment when hostile activities embittered the relationship between these two families. We have already stated that there was no harmony existing among the brothers of Vīracoḍa. Presumably, when he gave his daughter to Coḍagaṅga, the sole monarch of a very prosperous kingdom like Kaliṅga, jealousy took its own course in the minds of his brothers. Vikrama, who got the throne of Veṅgi in 1093 A. D., seems to have prejudiced Kulottuṅga against Coḍagaṅga, as a result of which the first Kaliṅga war took place in or about 1094 A. D. (*i. e.*, in the 27th regnal year of Kulottuṅga). But, the war was not helpful to the Colas to gain their object although Coḍagaṅga was then a young prince of less than 20 years of age. Who could have then saved the situation and protected Kaliṅga ? Who else, if not Vīracoḍa, who was fully acquainted with the strategic technique of the Colas ? He would have come to the rescue of the Gaṅga family of Kaliṅga to safeguard the interest of his own sister and nephew-*cum*-son-in-law. Therefore, it is quite probable that Vīracoḍa, after giving his daughter in marriage to Coḍagaṅga, left the Cola kingdom and settled in Kaliṅga as the sole guardian of the young prince, his own son-in-law. Being a recipient of good instructions from his experienced father-in-law, the young prince of Kaliṅga (Coḍagaṅga) did not leave any stone unturned in the diplomatic field while he captured the neighbouring territories in general and Utkala in particular in spite of the Cola pressure from the southern side. Rāma Pāla of Bengal died in or about 1110 A. D. After this,

his protege, the king of Utkala, seems to have been left in a helpless condition and in no time he was attacked and slain by the mighty hands of Coḍagaṅga, whereafter the Somakula of Orissa became extinct.

In a copperplate grant, issued by Coḍagaṅga in 1112 A. D., it is recorded that he was the supreme lord of the country lying between the Gaṅgā and the Godāvari. From the Dasgoba and Nagari copper-plate inscriptions, we find that he defeated the king of Mandāra. This verse is numbered 29 in the Kenduli Plates (Vide *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V, No. 1, PP. 1—100 ff.). In the *Rāmacarita*, there is the mention of 'Apara-Mandāra'. It seems that Coḍagaṅga defeated the king of Apara-Mandāra where he appointed a feudatory of his own, who, most probably, was his relative or friend. In this connection we may say that the Sena dynasty has migrated from the south and ruled over Bengal after end of the Pālas. Some say that they came from Kāñcī. We may conclude that the Senas entered into Bengal at the moment when that country was invaded by Coḍagaṅga. Therefore, it goes without saying that the Senas have eventually got the opportunity of occupying the throne of Mandāra with the help of Coḍagaṅga. They are known as '*Brahma-Kṣatriyas*' by caste. Dealing with the history of the Senas, M. M. Chakravarti writes as follows :—

"Did the founder come from the south ? In the Deopara inscription, it is said that in the Lunar race arose Dākṣiṇātya rulers, Vīrasena and the rest (V. 4); that in that Sena family was born Sāmantasena (V. 5) who singly killed the robbers of Karṇāṭa (V. 8), and who in his old age frequented the hermitages on the banks of the Gaṅgas (V. 9), and that from him was born Hemantasena (V. 10). With this may be compared

Dhoyika's selection of the southernly breeze, and his high eulogy of the Cola land as the ornament of the south. It is likely that Sāmantasena is connected with Coḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga. Coḍagaṅga conquered and apparently killed the Mandāra king on the bank of the Ganges (Mandāra seems identifiable with Suṁha), after he had conquered him. Utkala must have been conquered by him several years before Śaka 1040 (A. D. 1118-19), an inscription of which year described him as "Sakalōtkala-sāmrājya-padavī-virājamānai." It is, therefore, possible to infer that Coḍagaṅga, after killing the king of Suṁha, put Sāmanta in charge as his feudatory ?[1]

Sāmantasena seems to be a nominee of either Coḍagaṅga or his father-in-law, Vīracoḍa. He came from the south and was posted at Bengal in the place of the Pālas. Subsequently, his descendants attempted to make themselves free from the allegiance of Kaliṅga. Therefore, in the Deopara inscription we find that Vijayasena, the grandson of Sāmantasena, boasted of having defeated the king of Kaliṅga along with many other kings.

The verse of that inscription runs as follows :—

"tvaṃ nānya-vīra-vijay=īti girī kavīnāṃ-
śṛtvā'nyathā manana rūḍha-nigūḍha-rōṣaḥ.
Gauḍēndra-Madravad=apākṛta Kāmarūpa-
bhūpaṃ Kaliṅgam=api Yas=tarasā-jigāya."[2]

The capitulation of Suṁha and subjugation of Utkala and Veṅgi by Coḍagaṅga must have taken place simultaneously in between 1110 and 1112 A. D. so that in the Korni copperplate grant of the year

[1] *J. & P. A. S. B.*, 1905, Vol. I, PP. 50-51 ff.
[2] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, P. 48 ff.

1112 A. D. that great victory was recorded in the following verse, praising Coḍagaṅga :—

"pūrvasyāṃ diśi pūrvvam = utkala-patiṃ
rājyēnidhāy = ādbhutaṃ
paścāt = paścima-dik = taṭē vighaṭitaṃ
Vēṅgīśam = apy = ētayōḥ.
Lakṣmī-vandhana-mālikām = iva jaya-
śrītōraṇa-staṁbhayōr =
vadhnāti-sma samiddha-kīrtti-vibhavai—
Śrī Gaṅga-cūḍāmaṇiḥ".

In the Śaka year (1113 A. D.), an inscription of one Paḍāla Kāṭama is found in Khileśvara temple of the village of Khilor in the Delang P.S. of the Puri District.[1]

A stone inscription of Coḍagaṅga, incised in Śaka 1034 (1112 A. D.), is found in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar.[2] It was edited by Dr. K. C. Panigrahi who reads the plate as 'Śakābdaś = catu-rāma-kh = ēndu-gaṇitau'. But, in 1954, Dr. D. C. Sircar expressed his opinion on this reading as 'Śākāvdē

[1] This inscription is not yet edited. I read the original inscription and found that the date may be read as Śaka 1025, or Śaka 1035 the symbol for 2 being doubtful. But, in view of historical events, it is presumed that Coḍagaṅga or his officers did not visit any part of Orissa laying to the north of the Mahānadi in Cuttack district before 1110 A. D., *i. e.*, before Utkala was captured by the king of Kaliṅga. Therefore, the date of the Khilor inscription can safely be taken as Śaka 1035 or 1113 A. D. Apart from this, some Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions belong to the period of Coḍagaṅga's reign in Orissa. A few other inscriptions have recently been discovered in the Puri district. R. D. Banerji wrote, "It is interesting to note that no inscription of this king have yet been discovered in the Puri, Cuttack and Balasore districts of Northern Orissa" (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, P. 250). By the discovery of Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions, Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple inscription and Algum temple inscription in the Puri district, Banerji's opinion has to be modified.

[2] *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. I, No. 2, P. 8 ff.

ṛtu-rāma-kh = ēndu-gaṇitē'. Actually, the letter 'ऋ' or 'ॠ' is not quite clear creating a difference by two years. Anyway, we find in this inscription that the following titles are given to Coḍagaṅga who performed *Śivapūjā* after a great victory of his :—

"Śṛṅgāra-śauryaśālī-saṁpūrṇa-śarat-śaśadhara-kara-nikara-vibrata-pravala-mahīpāla-mahāyaśa-dviṣad-gīyamāna vṛhat-vijayī-Coḍagaṅgaḥ".

It, however, implies that Coḍagaṅga completed his *'digvijaya'* in the east by the time when the above inscription was incised, *i. e.*, either in ś. 1034, according to Dr. Panigrahi's reading or in ś. 1036, according to Dr. Sircar's view.

In 1112 A. D., the Cola-administration in Veṅgi seems to have collapsed although Vikramacoḍa formally ruled that country up to 1118 A. D. After his departure, Veṅgi was put in disorder. In ś. 1050 (1128 A. D.), Coḍagaṅga, with several of his queens and his brother Permāḍideva, visited the temple of Bhīmeśvara at Drākṣārāma in the East Godāvarī district where he and his family issued many grants to the god Bhīmeśvara.[1] Probably, it was done when that area was fully occupied by Coḍagaṅga. One Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja's *śrāhi* is mentioned in some of these records as 3 (ś. 1050); but, we are not sure if that king was a nominee of Coḍagaṅga in Veṅgi. From one of the inscriptions at Mukhaliṅgam[2] of ś. 1054 (1132 A. D.), we understand that a minister (मन्त्री) of Coḍagaṅga, Eruḍora *Camūpati,* a Brāhmaṇa by caste, was the inhabitant of Drākṣārāma. It proves that sometime before 1128 A. D., the Godāvarī region was controlled

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1184, 1198, 1197, 1196, 1195, 1192, 1194, 1191.

[2] *Ibid.* Vol. V, No. 1101 (*A. R.* No. 230 of 1896)

by Coḍagaṅga who also used to receive taxes from the lands lying up to the Godāvarī, as stated in the Dāsgōbā plates of his grandson, Rājarājadeva (III).

Shortly after 1112 A. D., when Kaliṅga was merged with Utkala, and Coḍagaṅga realised revenue from the territory extended from the Gaṅgā up to the Godāvarī, the following verse was added to his *praśasti* :—

"gṛhṇātisma karaṃ bhūmēr=
Gaṅgā-Gautamagaṅgayōḥ ।
madhyē paśyat=suvīrēṣu
prauḍha prauḍha-striyām=iva ॥"

Indeed, the power and wealth of Coḍagaṅga was so suddenly increased that Jājalladeva (I) of the Kā acūri dynasty could not remain as a silent spectator. In order to make his own position safe he tried to capture some areas, namely Kośala, Vairāgarh, Talahāri, Bhāṇāra, Kimiḍi, Lañjikā, Daṇḍakapura etc., which were practically situated as buffer lands between Kaliṅga and Dakṣiṇa-Kośala. Presumably, after killing the Somavaṁśī King of Utkala and portions of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala or the modern districts of Sambalpur and Balangir (the western districts of Orissa), Coḍagaṅga extended his sway towards that region shortly after 1112 A. D. So, Jājalla, expecting danger to his own kingdom, marched against some small border states *(Maṇḍalas)*, situated in the western parts of Kaliṅga. This attack of Jājalla (I) must have taken place in or about 1113 A. D., so that his activities in these *Maṇḍalas* could be recorded in the Ratnapur stone inscription of 1114 A. D.[1]

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[1] *E. I.*, I, P. 32 ff.

After 1114 A. D., we find no account of the Kālacūris until we arrive at the period of Jājalladeva (I)'s son, Ratandeva (II), who ruled in 1120—1135 A. D.[1]

In the Koni inscription of Kālacūri Pṛthvīrāja (II),[2] dated 1147-48 A. D., we find that one Puruṣottama, a general of Ratandeva (II), is credited to the following verse :—

"Khēmuṇḍi-maṇḍala-haraḥ Talahāri-hāri-
Karttā'tha Daṇḍapura-daṇḍana-caṇḍa-vāhuḥ ।
Khijjiṅga-bhaṅga-caturō Haravōha-hantā
Yō Daṇḍabhukti-pati-tarjjana-durjjaya-śrīḥ ॥"

The tract known as Khijjiṅga, mentioned in this inscription, can be identified with modern Khichiṅg of the Mayurbhanj district of Orissa and Daṇḍabhukti is the same Daṇḍabhukti-Maṇḍala as mentioned in some epigraphical records which comprised of the modern Bankura and Midnapore districts of W. Bengal. The appearance of the Kālacūri force in this area, previously occupied by Coḍagaṅga, indicates hostile relation between Coḍagaṅga of Utkala and Ratandeva (II) of Tummāṇa. We do not get any information regarding the result of this war ; but the occupation of that area by the successors of Coḍagaṅga suggests that Ratandeva was defeated and lost his hold over that area.

The following verses are found in the Kālacūri records of A. D. 1158 and 1168, narrating the *praśasti* of Ratandeva (II), the opponent of Coḍagaṅga :—

"[Ga]rvvō kharvita-Coḍagaṅga-subhaṭas=
phārē=ndu-viṁba-graha-
grāsē rāhur=ananta-śauryya-mahimā=
ścaryyō mahī-maṇḍalē ।"[3]

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[1] H. C. Roy's *Dynastic History of North India*, Synchronous table; *I. A.*, Vol. XVII (1898), P. 138.

[2] *E. I.*, XXVII, PP. 282-83 ff.

[3] *E. I.*, I, P. 47 ff.

"tad vaṁśē nṛpa-Coḍagaṅga visarat
prauḍha-pratāpānala-
jvālā-santati-śānti-caṇḍa-jaladaḥ
Śrī Ratnarājō'bhavat ||"[1]

"yas = Coḍagaṅga-nṛpatiṃ
Kaliṅgadēśādhipa-gajādhīśaṃ |
samitiṃ Jaṭēśvara-janakaṃ
kanakāśva-gajān jitavān ||"[2]

"Ratnadēvō'bhavat = tasmād =
abhūtō'pama-vikramaḥ |
yaś = Coḍagaṅga-Gōkarṇṇau
yudhi-Cakrē parānmukhau ||"[3]

The above verses in the Kālacūri inscriptions, eulogising Ratandeva (II) and exploding against the king of Kaliṅga and Utkala, fully corroborate the following statement given in one of the Telugu records of Coḍagaṅga of Saka 1057 or 1135 A. D.

"Sakāvdambulu 1057 nēṇḍu Śrī[Co]ḍaga[ṅga]-
dēva Cakravartti pa[ści]mōttara-pūrva-
dēśamulu [ca]la vēllalani mōna sādhiñci
Gauta[mī]-Bhāgīrathī-Gaṅ[gā]lū
naṅgulalu gaḍivi dēva-riṣi-pitṛ-
brāhmaṇ[ula] dri[tṛ]pti sēsinā
Coḍagaṅgadēvara............"[4]

It means that in the Saka year 1057 (1135 A.D.), the emperor (Cakravartti) Coḍagaṅgadeva, after suppressing the rebellion (Sādhiñci), appeared in the western, northern and eastern quarters (of his kingdom), (and) after controlling the country, extended from the Godāvarī

[1] *Ibid.*, P. 40 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, XXI, P. 161 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, P. 4 ff.
[4] *S. I. I*, Vol. V, No. 1335

up to the Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) satisfied the *Devas* (the gods) the *Ṛṣis* (hermits), the *Pitṛs* (and) *Brāhmaṇas* (by giving charities).

After this, Coḍagaṅga seems to have devoted his time, wealth and energy towards the construction of the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri which fact is mentioned in a verse in his grandson's (Rājarāja's) Dāsgōbā plates* of A. D. 1198 :—

"pādau yasya dharāntarīkṣam = akhilaṃ
nābhiśca sarvādiśaḥ
śrōtrē nētrayugaṃ ravīndu-yugalaṃ
mūrddhāpi ca dyaur-asau ।
prāsādaṃ Puruṣōttamasya nṛpatiḥ
kōnāma karttuṃ kṣamaḥ
tasyetyādi = nṛpair = upēkṣitam = ayaṃ
cakrētha Gaṅgēśvaraḥ ॥"

Coḍagaṅga ruled for 70 years, from ś. 999 (1077 A. D.) to ś 1069 (1147 A. D.). He was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇavadeva, *alias* Jaṭeśvara or Ekajaṭā Kāmārṇavadeva, whose coronation took place at Puruṣottama (Puri) during the life time of his father in Śaka 1064 (1142 A. D.), according to the following verse :—

"Vēdarttu-vyōma-candra-pramita-Śaka-samā
prāptakālē dinēśē
cāpasthēnya-grahaughē valavati-ripuṣu
prakṣayaṃ prāptavatsu ।
asmin mūrddhābhiṣiktē nṛpavara-tanayē
sarvvalōkaikanāthē
Śrīmat Kāmārṇṇavēśē jagad = abhavad = idaṃ
tat = tad = ānanda-pūrṇṇaṃ ॥"

* *E. I.*, XXXI, PP. 249—62 ff.

Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests the reading 'nandarttu-vyōma-candra' for 'vēdarttu-vyōma-candra' *viz.*, Śaka 1069 for 1064. But, the word 'vēda' is clear in the Gaṅga *praśasti* of all inscriptions. Coḍagaṅga must have been anxious to nominate his own successor to avoid future conflict among his sons; because in his early career, he experienced the unhappiness due to conflicts among his maternal uncles concerning succe-ssion. Jaṭeśvara Kāmārṇava took so active a part in administration and external affairs in assisting to his old father that the Kharod stone inscription records his name in the *praśasti* of Ratandeva (II) as quoted hitherto.

According to the Gaṅga chronology, Kāmārṇava ruled for ten years which is the duration of his actual reigning period. His father, Coḍagaṅga, expired in 1146-47 A. D. and Rāghavadeva, his brother, ascended the throne in 1156 A. D.

Regarding the actual number of years of the rule of eleven kings after Kāmārṇava (1047—56 A. D.) till the beginning of the rule of Narasiṁha Deva (IV) (1156-57 to 1377-78 A. D.) the chronology given in the Gaṅga *praśasti* is a bit confusing, as the total number of years between the last year of Kāmārṇava and the first year of Narasiṁha Deva (IV) is 258 as mentioned in his copperplate grants, although the actual period from 1156 to 1377 A. D. is 221 years within which period these eleven kings have actually ruled.*

* The following kings have ruled after Kāmārṇava :—

1.	Rāghavadeva	15 years (commenced from 1056 A. D.)
2.	Rājarāja (II)	25 years
3.	Aniyaṅkabhima (I)	10 years
4.	Rājarājadeva (III)	17 years
5.	Aniyaṅkabhima (II)	33 years
6.	Narasiṁhadeva (I)	33 years
7.	Bhānudeva (I)	17 years
8.	Narasiṁhadeva (II)	34 years
9.	Bhānudeva (II)	24 years
10.	Narasiṁhadeva (III)	24 years
11.	Bhānudeva (III)	26 years (ended in 1377 A. D.)
	Total	258 years

This question of disparity of 37 years is explained in *Appendix II.** The gap of 37 years is reduced to 8 years according to the list given in the *Appendix II* and this difference of 8 years also disappears in the period of the rule of 8 kings out of 11 kings.

Although as many as 159 verses of the *praśasti* are now gathered from different copperplate grants of the Gaṅgas of Orissa, we are not much benefited in getting any historical material from them. Only four verses out of 159 contain some meagre synchronous materials and the rest are based on eulogistic and conventional form of *praśasti.* The four verses where some historical facts have been referred to are quoted below:—

(Vide Vr. No. 26 in Appx. I *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V, Pt. I) — (1) Coḍagaṅgadeva's achievements in subduing and smashing the king of Utkal.

(*Ibid.*, Vr. No. 29) — (2) Coḍagaṅga's attack of Bengal against the king of Mandāra.

(*Ibid.*, Vr. No. 71) — (3) Narasiṁhadeva-I's victory over the Mahommedans (Yavanas of Rāḍha or West-Bengal)

(*Ibid.*, Vr. No. 87) — (4) Bhānudeva-II's victory over Giyas-ud-din, the king of Gauḍa (the modern East Pakisthan)

* See the author's paper in *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V, Pt. I

Apart from this, there are three verses in the *Gaṅga praśasti* containing valuable historical data. They are already quoted before.

Now, the main question is, when this temple was constructed ? Coḍagaṅga conquered Utkala in or about 1112 A. D. after which he shifted his capital from Kaliṅganagara to Caudvāra Kaṭaka (modern Chaudwar) or Abhinava-Yayātinagara (modern Jajpur in the Cuttack district). Therefore, it may be concluded that the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri was constructed some time after 1112 A. D. and most probably, the work was completed before 1142 A. D. when Kāmārṇava's coronation (*Mūrdhābhiṣeka*) had taken place there, before the god '*Sarvalokaikanātha*' or 'Jagannātha'.

There is, however, a traditional verse relating to the date of construction of Jagannātha temple runs as follows :—

"śākāvdē ratna-śubhrāṁśu-
rūpa-nakṣatranāyakē ।
prāsādaṃ kārayāmās='
anaṅgabhīmēna dhīmatā[1] ॥"

It means that in Śaka 1119 (1197 A. D.) the king Aniyaṅkabhīma built this temple. According to the Nagari copperplate grant of Aniyaṅkabhīma (III) of 1230 A. D., a temple of Jagannātha was built at Vārāṇasi Kaṭaka (the modern Cuttack) by this king. Perhaps, the compiler of the *Mādalāpāñji* confused that joining with the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri and that story was subsequently adopted as a popular concept.

There is divergence of opinion regarding the origin of Jagannātha and its cult in Orissa. The common view is that the deity of Jagannātha was installed in a temple at Puri long before a new

[1] The *Mandirer Kathā* (Bengali), Pt. I, P. 143

temple was constructed by Coḍagaṅga, who introduced the religious functions there in accordance with the system, followed by the Sri-Vaiṣṇavas. Coḍagaṅga adopted Vaiṣṇavism and used the titles of *Parama-bhaṭṭārakaḥ-Paramavaiṣṇavaḥ-Paramabrahmaṇya* in A. D. 1135.[1] Prior to this date, he was a *Paramamāhēśvara* in A. D. 1112.[2] So, it goes without saying that subsequently, *i. e.*, after 1112 A. D., he changed his religious conception and embraced both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. (the Rāmānuja school of Vaiṣṇavism).

The History of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa is traceable from the Gupta-age when the cult was known as "Śātvata" as per the *Sātvata-Saṁhitā*.[3] It is believed that the Śrīvaiṣṇavism is an offspring of Śātvatism although the worship of Kriṣṇa-Vāsudeva goes to a more remote age than the Gupta-period. S. K. De remarks, "it was systematised and erected into philosophy in such late *Bhakti* works as the *Nārada-sāṇḍilya-sūtras*, and it continued as a doctrine till about the end of the 8th century when the theory of spiritual nondualism and world-illusion promulgated by the great Śaṅkarāchārya and his followers appear to have imperilled its dualistic metaphysical foundation."[4] When we study the religious history of Kaliṅga, the earliest evidence regarding the worship of Viṣṇu is found in the copperplate grants of Hastivarman[5] who lived in *G. E.* 79 and 80, corresponding to 707-08 A. D. There,

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[1] *I. A.*, Vol. XVIII, P. 172 f.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, P. 113 ff.

[3] The *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV, P. 4 ff.

[4] *Vaishṇava faith and movement in Bengal*, P. 2 ff.

[5] *Ins. Or.*, Vol. II, Nos. 4 and 5

image of a "*Saptārṇavaśāyin-Nārāyaṇa*" is described.[1] Then, probably the image of Kriṣṇa-Vāsudeva, according to the *Bhāgavata*, was followed; because in the regime of the Māṭharas in Kaliṅga, the royal title, used by some of the kings was *Paramabhāgavataḥ* and the deity was called Nārāyaṇa-śvāmin.[2] Afterwards, the title of *Paramavaiṣṇavaḥ* was used by some queens in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. Tribhuvana-mahādevī in the *Saṁvat* (Bhauma-*era*) 158 and Daṇḍi-mahādevī in the same *era* 180 used the above title in their grants. The dates given as *Saṁvat* 158 and 180 in their grants correspond to (736 plus 158=) 894 A. D. and (736 plus 180=) 916 A. D. respectively. Formerly, the Bhauma-Kara Kings of Toṣali were the followers of Buddhism of the Mahāyāna sect; but in the latter period they embraced Vaiṣṇavism. Now, the question is whether this form of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism originated from the *Bhāgavata*. I think probably it is an assimilation of the religion of the latter Buddhism which was partially adopted by Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas. Perhaps, the deity of Jagannātha at Puri was considered to be an incarnation of Buddha by them, and that was popularised in course of time. In this connection, we may consider the iconographical features of Mādhava which deity is profusely adored in the district of Puri (in the Prācī-valley) were the religious literature in Oriya relating to the latter form of Buddhism was introduced by several poets. The cults of Vajrayāna, and Tantrayāna were subsequently assimilated into Vaiṣṇavism towards the 9th

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1 "Bhagavatē saptārṇṇava-śāyinē sapta-sāmōpagītāya"
The term "Raṇabhitōdayābhidhānāya" is not intellegible through any other Vaiṣṇavite literature except the *Viṣṇu-sahaśranāmo*.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, Section I.

century A. D., when Tribhuvana Mahādevī, Dharmā-Mahādevī and Daṇḍi Mahādevī of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty used the title of *Paramavaiṣṇava* although their predecessors used *Paramasaugata* and *Paramatathāgata*. According to Śaṅkara, this development in Buddhism was incomplete and unorthodox. He expressed this view in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* (II, ii, 42—45).[1]

In the *Varāhasaṁhitā*, we get a description regarding the *Cāturvyūha*-cult with the worship of Pradyumna, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Aniruddha and Mādhava. According to some *Upa-Purāṇas*, a hill called Venkaṭādri ('Venkaṭā-chalam in N. Arcot Dt.) happened to be the centre of Vaiṣṇavism in South India.[2] These *Upa-Purāṇas* are cited in the *Haribhaktivilāsa*. The Ālvars and the *Ācāryas* gave the real shape to this cult. In *App. V. No. 3*, in the *Ins. Or.*, Vol. III, Pt. ii, while writing about the *Māhādvādaśi*, I have given an account of the *Ācāryas* of the Śrī-Sect.

In a copperplate inscription of the Bhañja Kings of Gumsur (Ganjam Dt.), we find that the donor, Rāyabhañja, belonged to the Śrī-vaiṣṇava sect.[3] These Bhañjas lived as subordinate kings under the Bhauma-Karas of Toṣali (Orissa) who embraced Vaiṣṇavism towards the end of their rule in Orissa. So, it is quite probable that they selected their *guru* or *ācārya* from among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas during the pre-Rāmā-nuja age. Tantrism, which had played an important role in the history of Buddhism, was finally assimilated into the Neo-Vaiṣṇavism known as Śrī-sect. The *Maṅgalācaraṇa*-verse in the *Jñānasiddhi*, by a Buddhist author named Indrabhūti, is a praise of Śrī Jagannātha,

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[1] H. C. Ray Chaudhuri's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, P. 179 ff.

[2] & [3] *The Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, Nos. 3841—45 ff.

which deity is supposed to be one of the Bhairavas with his Śakti named Vimalā. Most probably, the *Yōga* part of Tantrism was responsible for creating this tradition in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. According to the Buddhist-tantra, there exists a wonderful world within the celestial world of a *Yogi* where the Lord Jagannātha, with his Śakti, is seated on a hundred petaled lotus, made of gold and floated on the surface of the milky water of the Kṣīra-samudra.[1] The relevant verses are quoted below from the *Varāhasaṁhitā* were the iconographical features of Kriṣṇa-Vāsudeva are found :—

"tatrādhaḥ sarva-pīṭhē ca svarṇa-mandira-maṇḍitē ।
tan = madhyē maṇi-māṇikya-ratna-siṁhāsanōjvale ॥
tatrōpari parānandaṃ Vāsudēvaṃ jagad-guruṃ ।
triguṇātīta-cidrūpaṃ sarva-kāraṇa-kāraṇaṃ ॥
Indra-nīla-ghana-śyāmaṃ nīla-kuñcita-kuntalaṃ ।
padma-patra-viśālākṣaṃ makarākṛti-kuṇḍalaṃ ॥
catur = bhujaṃ mahad = dhāma-jyōti-rūpaṃ sanātanaṃ ।
ādyanta-rahitaṃ nityaṃ pradhāna-puruṣōttamaṃ ॥
śaṁkha-cakra-gadā-padma-dhāriṇaṃ vana-mālinaṃ ।
pītāṁbaram = ati-snigdhaṃ divya-bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣitaṃ ॥"

Although it was a revised *dhyāna* of the god Kriṣṇa-Vāsudeva, originally the idea started from the cult of Jagannātha to which the Gaṅga Kings of Orissa, after Coḍagaṅgadeva, were closely associated.

During the later part of Coḍagaṅga's rule the area of the Gaṅga-kingdom expanded in extent so that it touched the Hugly in the north-east and the Godāvarī in the south. The country was then known as Trikaliṅga. A large group of feudatory chiefs

[1] *The Varāhasaṁhitā*, Ch. V

were posted in the borders to react watch and ward over that kingdom. These bordering tracts were covered with thick jungles and hills which were quite impenetrable for the external enemies. These *Sāmanta* kings used to supply men and materials at the time of war. The number of war-elephants, possessed by the Gaṅga-king, Coḍagaṅga, was so large that he could use the title of *Nava-navati-sahasra-kuñjarādhiśvara* in some of his inscriptions[1]. It is presumed that his descendants also maintained the same status and position. That power of war potency could earn for them so much of glory and prosperity that for a long period, covering three hundred years or more, they could enjoy independence in spite of repeated Muslim aggressions. The Gajapatis have not only kept their land free from external invasion but also used to take offensive measures against many hostile kings of neighbourhood. Their frequent fight with the Muslim rulers of Gauḍa and Delhi proves their valour and strength in stratagem.

The Mohamedans occupied Bengal in the beginning of the 13th century A. D. From there, they attempted invasion of this prosperous country of Utkala which they called Jājnagara. These accounts have been recorded in a Muslim History called *Tabàqat-i-Nasiri* which was compiled in 1259 A. D. by Minhaj and the work supplies materials to study the political history of Orissa.[2]

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[1] *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Pt. i, P. 62 *S. I. I.* Vol., V., No. 1025 ff. In one of the stone inscriptions, in the temple of Srikurmam (Srikakulam District), mention is made that in the 7th regnal year of Narasimhadeva there lived a king in Kimmiḍi (Khimuṇḍi) called *Kumāra* Purushottamadeva of Ātreya *gotra* who donated a perpetual lamp to the god kūrmasvāmin on the eve of his son, Indradeva's, death (Vide *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1219; *A. R.* No. 337 of 1896). The title used by Naranārasimhadeva in this inscription is "*Śri Pratāpavira*" which was in vogue in the royal house of Pārlakhemuṇḍi. We have identified Naranārasimhadeva with Rājarāja (III) (A. D. 1198-9—1211-2) under whom the Khimuṇḍi Kings are supposed to have lived as vassals.

While comparing of the Muslim accounts with that of some contemporary epigraphical documents, we find that the Mohamedan historians are not honest always. In some cases, they tried to suppress or twist facts when Muslim discredit was found to be exposed or the Sultan's prestige lowered. Here, we shall deal with some such events which escaped the notice of the previous historians while writing the history of the Gaṅgas of Orissa.

Rājarāja (III), the grandson of Coḍagaṅga, ruled from 1198 A. D. for 14 years till 1211 A. D. In his time, one of his officers named Moṅkaṇa Camūnātha incised an inscription in the temple of Drākṣārāma in East Godavarī district. It runs as follows :—

Śrī Gaṅgānvaya-Coḍagaṅga-nṛpatēr = nissīma-
śauryōdayō
jātaḥ prāg = Aniyaṅkabhīma-nṛpatēr =
ddānēka-cintāmaṇiḥ ।
tat = sūnur = Naranārasimha-nṛpatis =
saṅkrānta-bhūmaṇḍalō
hēlā-nirjjita-Gauḍa-Garjjana-patiḥ
Śrī Rājarājō'bhavat ॥ [1]
tālī-karkaśa-vīra-śaila-nikarān =
aprāpya dōrdaṇḍayōḥ
Gaṇḍūtiṃ samanā[yya]-Mōṅkana-Camū-
nāthas = sam = ādīṣtavān ।
rājñānēna sa Gautamī-taṭa-bhuvaṃ
jētuṃ calat = kandhara
smēro = nmīlita-lōcanēna kṛtavān =
ājñāṃ vibhōr = vikramān ॥ [2]

The meaning of these two verses is given below :—

"In the Gaṅgā dynasty there lived a king called Coḍagaṅga whose prowess was immense. From him

was born the king Aniyaṅkabhīma who was famous for liberal charities. His son named Naranārasimha *alias* Rājarājadeva became the king who could easily defeat the Muslim lords of Gauḍa and Garjjanapati.[1]

"That king (Rājarāja III), after capturing the strong soldiers (of his enemy kings), with pleasure and smile, ordered Mōṅkaṇa Camūnātha (Commander) at (a place named) Gaṇḍuti to proceed on the conquest of the territories from the banks of the Godāvarī. Mōṅkaṇa Camūnātha, the commander, accepted that order of the king, bowing down his head."[2]

Before arriving at any conclusion relating to this event, we like to quote here the following verses from the Cāṭeśvara inscription of the Brāhmaṇa minister, Viṣṇu, who served under Aniyaṅkabhīma (III) and his father Rājarāja (III) and fought with the *Yavanas* (Mohamedans) and the king of Tummāṇa (Cedi) with a great success :—

"Vindhyādrēr = adhisīma-Bhīma-taṭinī-
kuñjē taṭē'mbhōnidhēr =
Viṣṇur = Viṣṇur = asā-vasāv = ati-bhayād
yai tam = diśaḥ paśyataḥ.

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[1] The expression of 'Gauḍa-Garjjana-Pati' refers to the Mohamedan King of Gauḍa and Garjjanapati. The word 'Garjjanapati' probably refers to the king of Ghājipur which, according to Cunningham, was called 'Garjapatipura' even in the time of Yuan Chuang, the Buddhist pilgrim of the 7th century A. D. (Vide Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, P. 438). This place is situated on the banks of the Ganges about 50 miles to the east of Banares. According to Cunningham, the word 'Garjjanapati' is a title of the 'god of war'. The title of *Gajapati* was used by one Dāmodaradeva of the 13th Century A. D. (Vide *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXII, PP. 182—92 ff. and *E. I.*, *XXX*, PP. 184—88 ff.). This King, Dāmodaradeva, was living in the modern district of Citagang of East Pakisthan.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV. No. 1377 ff.

yōgābhyāsa-pariśramēṇa na tathā
vaikhānasānām = idaṃ
viśvaṃ Viṣṇumayaṃ tathā pariṇataṃ
Tummāṇa-pṛthvī-patēḥ
karṇṇ = ōttaṁsita-śāyakasya subhaṭān =
ēkākinō nighnataḥ
kiṃ-vrūmō yavan = āvan = īndra-
samarē tat = tasya vīra-vrataṃ ||"[1]

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra who re-edited this inscription renders the following translation of the above verses :—

"The anchorite of the Vaikhānasa order, by their striving in the practice of *yoga*, do not so much perceive this universe to be composed of the (the god) Viṣṇu as indeed it appeared to the king of Tummāṇa to be consisting of (the minister) Viṣṇu, who (in his hallucination) out of fear saw him (in all) the directions, repeatedly uttering 'there is Viṣṇu, there is Viṣṇu' (during his flight from the battle) at the skirts of the Vindhya Hills, in the forests along the Bhīmā river, (and) on the shore of the sea.

"How are we to describe that heroism of his (Viṣṇu's) during his fight with the Muslim King, while all alone—his arrows appearing as his ear-pendants—he shot dead (many) expert soldiers........."[2]

The Cāṭeśvara inscription was incised in the time of Aniyaṅkabhīma (III), son of Rājarāja (III) who ascended the throne in 1211 A. D. In that year Ghiyāsud-din Iwaz attempted to raid over Jājnagar (Utkala) whose king, according to the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, was reduced to pay tribute to the Muslim Rulers.

[1] *E. I.*, XXIX, P. 127 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, P. 131

Before coming to this point, we shall consider about the relation of the Haihaya Kings of Tummāṇa with the Gaṅgas of Orissa, as it happened to be the main subject of the verses quoted above from the stone inscriptions of Cāteśvara and Drākshārāma.

M. M. Chakravarti has rightly remarked that "several years would have elapsed between the minister Viṣṇu's fight with the *Yavanas* and the finishing of the temple" (Cāṭeśvara), which happened in the time of Aniyaṅkabhīma (III). Indeed, Viṣṇu's fight with the *Yavanas* and the king of Tummāṇa (Cedi) took place about the year 1211 A. D. when Rājarāja was alive. Although the name of the Cedi King is not given in the Cāṭeśvara inscription, it is not difficult to assign him to the family of Pṛthvīdeva (II) who claims victory over Jaṭeśvaradeva, the elder brother of Rājarāja (III)'s father. We have already discussed above how Jājaladeva (I), the Haihaya King of Tummāṇa, fought with Coḍagaṅga in or about 1113 A. D. and how that dispute started on some boundary issues. That struggle between the two neighbouring dynasties prolonged for about one-hundred years. Therefore, Rājarāja (III) must have made a big preparation to fight with that powerful enemy of his family to close the dispute once for all. With this object in view, he engaged two of his efficient officers, Viṣṇu and Mōṅkaṇa, to destroy the territory of the Cedis. Viṣṇu, who seems to be wellversed in strategy, would have decided that the Muslims ought to be cleared off from the north-eastern borders of Utkala before taking any aggressive action against the Haihayas of Dakṣiṇa-Kōśala. So, at first he focussed his attention to defeat the Sultān of Bengal which he implemented with success. In corroboration to this fact

the inscription of Drākshārāma which is quoted above, narrates the easy victory of Rājarāja (III) over the Sultān of Gauḍa before Mōṅkaṇa Camūnātha actually started on his raid towards the south from the banks of the Godāvarī. Now, from the Muslim history we learn that Ghiyās-ud-din Iwaz invaded Jājnagar in 1211 A. D. Probably that is the time when Viṣṇu has defeated him.

It is not out of place to point out here that one Kaṇḍamarāja, son of Muñjarāja, who belonged to the family of Sahasrārjuna-Haihaya and who was a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* (under the Gaṅgās), claims to have defeated the Mohamedans according to a Telugu inscription of the Śrikūrmam temple, incised in 1211 A. D. (s. 1133).[1] In that inscription the donor narrates the epithets of his overlord (?) and then that of his own as follows :—

"Śaka-varṣambulu 1133 gunēṇḍu mēṣa-śukla-tritīyayu śanivāramuna[2] [I] Svasti [II] anēka-bhaṅgura-taraṁgga-saṁghāta-vīcīvya[yā]...lavaṇōdadhi-vē[lā]-valaya-valayita-Gaṅgā-paryanta Madhu....pura-vallabha-Haihaya-vaṁśōdbhava - Kauṇḍi[nya - gō]tra - atyugra - nara - śirō-darpaṇa-dhvaja - Mahāmaṇḍa - parrēṣō(śō)ṣaṇa[3] - Sahasra-vāhu - pratāpa - vīryya - guṇa - saṁpannulaina Śrīman= Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara - Ḍaṅgēṭi - Muñjarāju-kōḍuku Śrī-Kūrmasvāmidēvaraku......"

Following is the translation of this passage :—

In the Śaka year 1133, Mesa, the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight and in Saturday. Hail ! (There is in the country of Madhu...(which) extends up to the Ganges, being girdled by the saline ocean, the shore

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V., No. 1283 (lines 2—12)

[2] It corresponds to the 16th April, 1211 A. D. On that day *tritīyā* started from the evening.

[3] Read '*Mahammada-prāṇa-śōṣaṇa*'

of which is being struck by numerous tidal waves, a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* (named) Kaṇḍamarāju, son of Daṅgeṭi Muñjarāju, who possesses the qualities and prowess of one having thousand arms, who sucks the lives of Mohamedans, who uses the banner containing emblems of mirror and furious human-head, who belongs to the family of Haihayas and to the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*; (and) who is the lord of.....pura, gave in favour of the god Śrīkūrma Svāmin...etc.

The eulogized epithets which are found in this epigraph imply that the donor, Kaṇḍamarāja who was a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* or subordinate chief under a king whose kingdom extended as far as the Gaṅges on the coastal area (*i. e.*, Utkala), has killed the Mohamedans. This inscription was incised in April, 1211 A. D. Therefore, it indicates that he (Kaṇḍama) has fought against the Muslims of Bengal on behalf of Rājarāja (III), the king of Utkala. Now, with the help of these three epigraphical records, namely the inscriptions of Cāṭeśvara, Drākshārāma and Śrīkūrmam temples, we can safely conclude that the Sultān of Bengal suffered a heavy defeat in the hands of Rājarāja (III).

From the Persian accounts, we learn that in *H.* 602 (1205 A. D.) Muhammad-i-Boktyār sent Muhammad-i-Sherān and his brother, Ahammad-i-Sherān, from among his Khalji Amirs to march towards Jājnagar (Utkala). But, that attempt was not fruitful as the Sherān brothers had to return back from half way of their destination when they received news about the unexpected assassination of their master.

Five years later, in the time of Ghiyās-ud-din Iwaz, the Muslims again attempted to invade Jājnagar. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* states that Ghiyās-ud-din used

to collect tribute from the states of "Jājnagar, the countries of Bang, Kāmrut, the Tirhut." To collect tributes he invaded Utkala between *H.* 608 and *H.* 622 (*i. e.*, 1211 and 1224 A. D.) when Rājarāja (III) and his son, Aniyaṅkabhīma (III), were on the throne of Utkala. From the above inscriptions we learn that Rājarāja and his generals have claimed victory over the Sultāns of Gauḍa and the rulers called *Yavanas* (Mohamedans) respectively. Under these circumstances how can we rely upon the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* which was written in 1259 A. D. or about fifty years after this event ? So, the Persian accounts relating to the political history of Orissa are not free from doubts and hazyness.

It is not out of place to quote below some verses from the inscription of the temple of Anantavāsudeva of Bhuvaneśwar which was built by Candrikā, the daughter of Aniyaṅkabhīma (III) and the wife of Paramardideva, the glorious hero of the Haihaya dynasty, who, while fighting with the *Yavanas* (the Mohamedans) ended his life and for whose commemoration the said temple was constructed on the eastern bank of the Vindusāgara, in Śaka 1200 or 1277-78 A. D. during the last reigning years of Bhānudeva (I) :—

"Vīraḥ samrāṭ-samara-dalitā-rāti-rājanya-cakra-
smērāmbhōjair = akṛta-vasudhā-
devatā = rādhanaṃ yaḥ ।
āgōdāntād = amarasaritaṃ yāvad = ēkō-bhuvō'bhūd =
bhōktā sōntē sura-sahacarī-kāmukaś = Coḍagaṅgaḥ ॥

yad = vaṁśē vaijayantī-pata iva subhaṭō
naṅgabhīma-prabhāvaḥ
pradhvastā = rāti-rāja-vraja-yuvati-janōd =
gīta-gambhīra-sāraḥ ।

āsīd = āsīviṣārēr = adhikatara-taras =
tādṛg = garvō = ru-garvvaḥ
sōntē svāntā = prasarpat javam = api javanaṃ
saṁgarē sañjahāra ||

× × ×

tasyād = bhūpati-bhūcandrā Candrikā-jani sundarī |
candrā = nandā = mṛtā-sāraiḥ
snapayanti jagaj = janaḥ ||

× × ×

Haihaya-vaṁśāvataṁśaḥ
Paramarddī-sahaja-sāra-pārē yaḥ |
tārā-patim = iti śētē
patir = asyāḥ samara-pārīṇaḥ ||"

While re-editing this inscription in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*[1], PadmaSri P. Acharya gives the translation of the above verses as follows :—

"Coḍagaṅga was not only a hero but an emperor also and performed the worship of the goddess Earth with lotus faces of the hostile kings cut off in battle while smiling; was also enjoyer of the region extending from the river Godāvarī to the river Gaṅgā and after his death became a gallant to the mistresses of the gods.

"In his (Coḍagaṅga's) lineage was like a flag the heroic Anaṅgabhīma whose profound strength was celebrated by the power, and who was exceedingly proud of his swift horses, the speed of which surpassed that of the snake's foe, Garuḍa. He made an end of the war by defeating the *Yavanas* with impetuosity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier.

"From this territorial moon of kings was born the beauteous Candrikā whose moon-like face filled

[1] *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. I, PP. 274—88 ff.

the heart of the people of the world with showers of nectar.

"Her husband, Paramardi, was an ornament of the Haihaya dynasty, the best of heroes, possessor of native strength and was as charming as the moon, the lord of stars."

After these verses there are two more *ślōkas* (quoted below) which state that Aniyaṅkabhīma gave along with Candrikā innumerable wealth as dowry to Paramardideva, the glorious hero of the Haihaya family who fought with the *Yavanas* with great victories on behalf of his brother-in-law, the glorious King Narasiṁhadeva (I):—

"Gītajñā laya-tāla-narttana-kalā-kauśalya-līlālaya
vālyād=Acyuta-bhakti-bhāvita-matir=
dattānurūpa-śriyō ।
pitrā Haihaya-vaṁśajāya sucayē Candrāpahā Candrikā
putrīyaṃ Paramarddi-nāma-bhajatē
kṣatrāya ratnānvitā ॥
sa krīḍā-manayā vidhāya vividhāṃ
rāgānu-vandhōtsavāṃ
patnyā Vīra Nṛsimhadēva-nṛpatēr=
dvēṣyān raṇē rajyataḥ ।
datvā tān suralōka-gām=api ruṣā
jētuṃ svayaṃ svar=yayau
manyē sau Paramarddidēva-subhaṭa-
kīrttī samullāsahan ॥"

Translation:—

"Learned in songs, a seat of sport in skillful practice of arts of musical measure, beating of time, and the dance, and having a soul inspired with devotion of Acyuta (Viṣṇu) from the childhood onwards and the radiance and beauty of the moon,

this daughter Candrikā together with jewells was given (in marriage) by her father to Paramarddi, the knight, *(Kṣatriya)* and the scion of Haihaya lineage.

"After he had practised with his wife diverse kinds of pleasure in which delight was attendant upon amorous passions; the valiant Paramarddideva, having found the enemies of the battle loving king, Vīra Narasiṁhadēva, to be dwelling in the world of the gods, went himself thither in fury to conquer them, I trow with full display of glory."

Narasiṁha (I) ruled from 1238 to 1264 A. D. According to the following verse of the Gaṅga *Praśasti*, he defeated the Mohamedan rulers of Rāḍha and Varendra on the banks of the Ganges :—

"Rāḍhā-Varēndra-yavanī-nayanā = ñjanā = śṛu-
pūrēṇa dūra-viniveśita-kālima-śrīḥ ।
tad vipralaṁbha-karaṇādbhuta-nistaraṅgā-
Gaṅgāpi nūnam = amunā Yamunā = dhunā = bhūt" ॥

N. N. Vasu renders the following translation :—

"The (white) river Gaṅgā blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanīs of Rāḍha and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was not transformed, by that monarch into the (black-watered) Yamunā." [1]

This time, the Sultān of Bengal was crushed by joint efforts of Narasiṁha and his brother-in-law, Paramarddidēva, to a great extent and the event was so widely known that the Muslim historians

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1896, Vol. IXV, P. 232

could not dare to suppress the fact. So, in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri,* we find a brief reference to that battle and to the heroic deeds of the son-in-law of the Rāi, Aniyaṅkabhīma (III).

"The leader of the forces of Jājnagar was a person, by name, Sabāntar (*Sāmantarāi*), the son-in-law of the Rāi, who during the time of Malik Iss-ud-din Tughril-i-Tughan Khān, had advanced to the bank of the river of Lakhaṇāwati and, having shown the greatest audacity, had driven the Musalman forces as far as the gate (of the city) of Lakhaṇāwati".[1]

The date of this fight will be a few days after the 13th day of Shauwal of *H.* 642 (*i. e.*, the 14th March, 1245 A. D.) when the Rāi of Jājnagar marched against Tughan Khān, the ruler of Bengal.

Sri P. Acharya has rightly identified "the son-in-law of the Rāi" with Paramardideva, the son-in-law of Anaṅgabhīma of the Anantavāsudeva temple inscription.[2]

Paramarddideva, the husband of Candrādevī and the son-in-law of Anaṅgabhīmadeva, belonged to the Haihaya family and it seems to me that he was a son or nephew of Koṇḍamarāja of the Śrīkūrmam inscription as noted previously.

After gaining power and opulence as the result of these victories, Narasiṁha (I) devoted the last part of his reign to the construction of the great temple of Koṇārka which work might have commenced sometime between 1250 and 1260 A. D. when complete peace was restored in Utkala.

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[1] *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, PP. 762—66 ff.

[2] *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. 1, P. 278

56 In the Kenduli copperplate-inscription of Narasiṁhadeva (IV), the 87th verse runs as follows :—

"Rajñā(huḥ)yasya Gayāsadīna-samara-
prāravdha-śaurya-kṣata-
prauḍhā=nēka-narēndra-kandhara-galat-
kīlāla-pūrṇṇā=vanī ।
tat=kāla kṣata-vakṣasāṃ-karikulā=
sphālō=tthitaḥ śōṇitā-
sāre=dyāpi digantarē=sti vilasat-
sandhyā=nurāga-chhalāt ॥"*

M. M. Chakravarti translates the verse as follows :—

"The king's (Bhānudev-II's) war with Ghiyās-ud-din beginning, the blood owing from the necks of the many big chiefs wounded by his valour filled the world. The blood stream gushing up profusely from the then wounded breasts of the (enemy's) elephants was such that still shines in the sky in the disguise of sun-set-glow".[1]

It describes the horror and fury of the battle between Bhānudeva (II) and Ghiyās-ud-din Tughlak. From Zia Barni's account, we find that in 1321 A. D. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-din sent his son Ulugh Khān to attack Warangal and Teliṅgānā.[2] After subduing the above territories, Ulugh Khān marched towards Jāj-nagar in 1323 A. D. and took 40 elephants from there.

Bhānudeva (II) ruled from 1306 to 1327 A. D. His Panjabi Maṭha copperplate grant of 1312 A. D. (vide *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, P. 19) does not mention

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* *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 1, P. 35 f.

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1895 Vol. LXIV, P. 136

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. III, P. 234.

the above verse relating to his fight with Ghiyās-ud-din. But, the verse is recorded in the Kenduli Plates of 1383 A. D. which were incised about 60 years after Ulugh Khān's contact with Jājnagar (Orissa). (Vide *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. V, PP. 1—100)

From epigraphical sources we understand that a branch of the Cālukyas lived at the southern borders of Kaliṅga as feudatories of the Gajapatis. In this line, according to an inscription of the Srīkūrmam temple, there lived a governor named Puruṣōttama as a *Sāmanta* under Vīra Bhānudeva (II) (1353 A. D.).[1]

From this document we get no hint about any Mohamedan aggression against Utkala. But, another inscription of the same temple which was written in 1321 A. D., however, states that one Śrīrāma Senāpati, an officer of Bhānudeva, was posted as a *Kaliṅga-rakṣāpāla* or the protector of Kaliṅga. That officer used some peculiar titles *i. e.*, *Kumēli-bhañjana* (the suppressor of rebellion), *Kōṅdu=marddana* (the destroyer of Koṅdus[2]) and *Khaṇḍapāla-śira-chhēdana*, (the killer of *Khaṇḍapālas* or subordinate chiefs). No officer of Utkala except Śrīrāma Senāpati had ever used the title of *Kaliṅga-rakṣāpāla.* So, it seems that it was felt necessary to post an officer in Kaliṅga Division to protect the land from internal and external troubles. Apart from this, the usage of the titles of *Kumēli-bhañjana*, *Kōṅdu-marddana* and *Khaṇḍapāla-śira-chhēdana* by an officer indicates that there lived some *Khaṇḍapālas* or the subordinate chiefs in the hilly tracts of Kaliṅga who started some sort of rebellion in or a little before 1321 A. D. which

[1] *E. I.*, V, P. 31; *S. I. I.*, Vol. V., No. 1169

[2] The word 'Koṅdu' means 'Kōṅdhu' or 'Kandha' refering to a turbulant aboriginal tribe of the hill tracts of Kaliṅga. The Telugus use the word 'Kōdu' for 'Kaṅdha' or Khonds.

was suppressed by Śrīrāma Senāpati. That is the time when Ulugh Khān marched against Warangal and Teliṅgānā. Most probably, while proceeding towards Warangal through the hilly tracts of Western Kaliṅga, he devised a secret contact with some petty *Khaṇḍapālas* for conspiring and rebelling against their over-lord, Bhānudeva. His object was to create internal disturbance in the south-western borders of Orissa so that the way to his conquest of Jājnagar would be kept smooth while returning back after completion of his planned campaign of Warangal and Teliṅgānā. So, the fire of molestation was started in that area and Śrīrāma Senāpati's posting at Kaliṅga under the designation of *Kaliṅga-rakṣāpāla* was quite essential. The foresight of Bhānudeva (II) and the quick action of Śrīrāma Senāpati in killing of the plotting *Khaṇḍapālas* and suppressing the outrageous activities of some aboriginal tribes in that region has undoubtedly saved Orissa from any loss of her territory.

After completion of his victory at Warangal and Teliṅgānā, Ulugh Khān in 1323 A. D. on his way back to Delhi, attempted to march against Jājnagar (Utkala). But, when he found that his attempt was unsuccessful, he turned his face towards Delhi and managed to get some elephants from Kaliṅga. The battle against Ghiyās-ud-din which has been narrated in the Gaṅga *praśasti* seems to have taken place between the Muslim soldiers of Ulugh Khān associated with some rebellious *Khaṇḍapālas* who were killed and annihilated in that battle by Bhānudeva and his commanders. So, Ulugh Khān, getting no benefit out of his expedition, took away some elephants from Orissa and returned back to Delhi. That event alone is described in the Muslim Records.

A similar suppression of facts by some Muslim historians is traced out from epigraphical records relating to the defeat of Firoz Tughlak by Coḍa (II) who was a subordinate king of Bhānudeva (III) (1353—1378 A. D.) and led an expedition right up to Bengal to help the Sultān of Pāṇḍuvā (Hāji Iliyas) at a moment when Firoz attacked that kingdom in 1353 A. D. That great hero named Coḍa (II) was a Chief of Mahiṣmati[1] and belonged to the family of Sahasrārjuna-Haihaya. We have already discussed about how some Haihaya Chieftains have waged war against the Mohamedans on behalf of the Gaṅgas with whom they established matrimonial alliance. Most probably, Coḍa (II) had also some such relationship with Bhānudeva (III). An inscription of Dharmaliṅgeśvara at Pañcadhārlā in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk of the Viśākhapātnam district of Śaka 1325 (1403 A. D.) incised by Coḍa (III), grandson of Coḍa (II), discloses that the kingdom of Mahiṣmati extended from the foot of the Vindhya Mountain as far as the sea-shore and Coḍa (II) was the king of that locality and used the title of *Gaṇḍabheraṇḍa*. While describing his (Coḍa II's) glorious achievements, the Pañcadhārlā inscription gives the following verse :—

"ekaṃ citram = idaṃ tu Pāṇḍu[va]suratrāṇārtta-sēnā-pari-
trāṇārthaṃ pratigamya-vāhu-vibhavair = nirjjitya Dillīpatiṃ ।
dvāviṁśatyuru-dantibhis = samam = adāj = jaitrēṃ-dvirām = Utkala-
kṣōṇīśāya sa bhūpatiḥ suravara-strībhyas = Turaṣkān = api ॥"[2]

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[1] The locality of Mahiṣmati of Coḍa is not traced in Kaliṅga

[2] *E. I.*, *XIX*, PP. 159-60 ff.

Dr. J. Nobel, who has edited the inscription gives the translation of it as follows :—

"But this was a unique *(and)* wonderful *(deed)* having set out to protect the harassed army of the Sultān of Pāṇḍuvā, and having by the strength of *(this)* arm completely vanquished the ruler of Delhi, the king gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two great elephants to the King of Utkala, and the Turks to the excellent damsels of the gods".[1]

In this connection Dr. Nobel has quoted the following accounts of Feriṣta relating to the activities of Firoz in Bengal in 1353 A. D. :—

"In the year *H.* 754 (*i. e.*, 1353 A. D.) the king (Firoz Tughlak, the successor of the well-known Mahomed Tughlak)......In the month of Shuwal, of the same year, he appointed Khān Jehān to the charge of Delhy, and himself marched towards Luknowty, to subdue Hājy Elias. This chief had assumed royal honours, and the title of Sums-ood-deen and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Banares. On the King's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukhpoor, the zemindars of that place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. The King then penetrated as far as Bundwa (Pāṇḍuvā), one of the stations of Hājy Elias; and the latter returned to Yekdulla, whither the King pursued him, and arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul. An action ensued on the same day; but Hājy Elias having entrenched his position, very strongly reduced the King to the necessity of

[1] The real meaning of 'damsels of gods' is dancing-girls

surrounding him. The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhir, Feroz, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out from re-conquer. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works, and drew up in order of battle. On perceiving it was the King's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants and many standards fell into the King's hand. The rainy season soon after came on with great violance; peace was concluded; and the King returned to Delhy without effecting his effects".[1]

With the help of this epigraphical piece of evidence and Ferishta's accounts, Dr. Nobel concludes :—

"The last remark leaves no doubt that Firoz Tughlaq did not succeed in subduing Iliyas Khwājā, which would be quite in harmony with the statement of the present inscription, that the Sultān of Pāṇḍuvā gained a victory over the Emperor of Delhi. From the inscription we may further gather that the Sultān of Pāṇḍuvā was aided by the King of Orissa and from the account that Choḍa(II) gave "the *S'ri* or victory together with twenty-two elephants to the King of Utkala, it becomes likely that he was a vassal of the ruler of Orissa, or a general of his army".

It is necessary to consider when these strategic achievements of Bhānudeva and his vassal or general Coḍa (II) against the Mohamedan King of Delhi had actually taken place.

[1] *E. I.*, *XIX*, P. 157

Immediately after the death of Narasiṁhadeva (III), his son Bhānudeva (III) ascended the throne in between the 23rd of August, 1352 A. D. and the 10th of September, 1353 A. D.; his 3rd *Aṅka* year is found in an inscription of the temple of Śrīkūrmam which was written in s. 1276, *Bhādrapada*, *Śukla-Pratipadā*, Wednesday, corresponding to the 20th August, 1354 A. D. [1]

In Śaka 1215, on the day of *Paushya-Paurṇamī* *viz*. the 9th of January, 1354 A. D., Bhānudeva (III) visited the temple of Simhāchalam in the Viśākha-patanam district where he introduced a new *Bhōga* called the *Gaṅgā-Narasiṁha-Bhōga* in commemoration of his father Narasiṁha and mother Gaṅgāmbikā.[2]

After about 9½ months, on the 28th of October, 1354 A. D.,[3] Bhānu's mother Gaṅgāmbikā, has made a grant in the same temple for recitation of *Purāṇa* before the deity at the time of the *Gaṅgā-Narasiṁha-Bhōga*, which was introduced by his son.[4] It is, therefore, apparent that she was halting there with her son for more than nine months.

Now, with the help of the Persian Records we get the following dates relating to Firoz Tughlak's attack of Pāṇḍuvā or Pāṇḍuā, the then capital of Bengal.

In *H*. 754, Shuwal *i. e.*, in November, 1353 A. D., Firoz Tughlak marched towards Lakhṇauti.

On the 7th day of Rubbee-ool-Awul of *H*. 754 *i. e.*, the 1st of April, 1354 A. D., he attacked

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1 *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1196 ff.

2 *Ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 1046

In the *South Indian Inscriptions*, the date is wrongly put as Ś. 1275 Kārtika, Śukla Ekādaśi, Tuesday for Ś. 1276.

3 *S. I. I.* Vol. VI, No. 1053

Pāṇḍuvā (Pāṇḍuā) and Yekdulla (Ekdala) and surrounded Hāji Ilias for twenty days.

On the 5th day of Rubee-ool-Akhir of *H.* 754 *i. e.*, on the 28th of April, 1354 A. D., Firoz changed his ground and retreated.

From these chronological facts we can infer that immediately after Bhānudeva's accession to the throne, Firoz Tughlak planned to conquer the eastern countries and he marched towards Bengal in November, 1353 A. D. He took more than four months to arrive at Pāṇḍuvā or Pāṇḍuā.

These events, namely the victory of Coḍa (II) over Firoz, the Sultān of Delhi (*nirjjitya Dilliśvaraṃ*), and his aid to the Sultān of Pāṇḍuvā (*Pāṇḍuvā-saratrāṇā=rtta-sēnā-paritrāṇārtha*) who was surrounded and put into great danger by the Delhi King, are nowhere mentioned in the contemporary Persian works, namely two *Tarikh-i-Firozshahis* by Zia-ud-din and Afif. On the other hand, the Muslim historians like Nizāmuddin in his *Tabaqat-i-Ākbari* (Vol. III, PP. 421-22 ff. and Ferișta, Vol. IV., P. 331) in their works have narrated the invasion of Jājnagar by Hāji Iliyas Shāh in their historical works compiled in 1593 and 1612 A. D. respectively. Another Persian historian, Gulām Hussain Sālim, who compiled the *Riyāzu-s-Sālātin* in 1786—88 A. D. has narrated this event as follows :—

"When Sultān Ālāu-d-din was killed and the sovereignty of Bengal passed to Hāji Ilyas, Alsi, proclaimed himself Sultān Shāmsu-d-din he mounted the throne in the holy city of Pāṇḍuāh.

In conciliating the people and winning the heart of the army, he put forth noble efforts. After a while,

mastering an army, he went to Jājnagar, and from there obtaining many valuables and presents and large elephants, returned to his capital".[1]

Depending on such sources from the persian records, Sir Jadunath Sarkar remarks as follows in the *History of Bengal, Vol. II.*

"About the middle of the 14th century A. D., however, the gateway into this (Utkala) kingdom of fabled prosperity which had not been previously pierced by any Turkish war-lord of Bengal, was burst upon by Ilyas Shāh. He swept away all opposition, marched across the country of Orissa, and came back with immense booty including 44 elephants".[2]

This inference appears quite a fabulous one in consideration of the verse found in the Pancadhārlā inscription of 1403 A. D., where clear mention is made that when the Sultān of Pāṇḍuvā (Hāji Iliyās) was crying for help with utter despondency, Coḍa (II) arrived there and saved him after defeating the army of Delhi. After achieving this great victory in Bengal, Coḍa presented twenty-two great elephants to his master, Bhānudeva, the lord of Utkala, and some dancing-girls to the Mohamedan friend *i. e.*, Hāji Iliyās. It proves undoubtedly that there was full alliance between the King of Utkala and the Sultān of Bengal. Did Hāji Iliyās, the Sultān of Bengal, actually raid Orissa in 1353 ? We may go so far as to say that the Sultān of Bengal sought help from Orissa which was granted by Bhānudeva. We may also conclude in this connection that due to his

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1 *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (Asiatic Society of Bengal publication), 1904, P. 98

2 *History of Bengal*, published by the University of Dacca, (1948), Vol. II, PP. 104-05 ff.

friendship with Hāji Iliyās, the Muslim Sultān of Bengal, Bhānudeva, the King of Orissa, invited danger to his own kingdom; because, soon after this, conspiracy and treachery started to distrub the internal harmony and peace in Orissa.

About seven years after the above events, namely the first attack of Bengal, Firoz made another attack on that kingdom in 1360 A. D. This time, he succeeded in crushing the Sultān of Bengal. From there, he returned to Jaunpur. It appears that after the conquest of Bengal, Firoz despatched some spies to Jājnagar before retreating to Jaunpur for his own safety. His retreat has probably caused Bhānudeva's slack in his war preparations against the Muslim-army. After the rainy season, in the month of November 1360 A.D., Firoz marched against Jājnagar most unexpectedly with lightening speed through modern Bihar and Chotanagpur and easily entered into Vārāṇaśī Kaṭaka, the capital city of Orissa.

Meanwhile, some treacherous officers of Utkala for their self-benefit, associated with the Muslim force. One Bāki (Bali Pātra[1]) was a traitor of that type. To illustrate his treachery, the following is quoted from *Sirāt-i-Firuz-Sāhi* :—

"Before the arrival of the presents from the king (of Jājnagar), one of his (Bhānudeva's) ministers, named Bāki, presented himself before His Majesty and petitioned; 'For countless years from the time of my ancestors, we have devoted ourselves to the service of the *Rā*j, but he is now oppressing me.

[1] In the life and letters of Malik Aynul Mulk Mahru, it is stated that the Rāj of Jājnagar sent elephants through Ahmad Khān and Bali Pātra (Vide *J. A. S. B.*, 1923, Vol. XIX, P. 286). Probably, the correct name of the treacherous officer is Bali Pātra.

When life was endangered and the dagger pierced the bones, I deserted him, panic-stricken and frightened as to how long shall I be oppressed by the Rāj; to whom shall I represent my situation and complain against the injustice of the Rājā. It was my good fortune that the imperial standards were unfurled at this opportune moment. I have appeared before the court so that I may be spared through the kindness of your sublime court."

* * *

"If your Majesty be not pleased to order my liberation, the hope of my earthly existence will be extinguished. If I am not favoured even at this time, what hour shall I look forward to ? When the Rāi of Jājnagar and the Zamindars of this country come to know of my favourable reception at the hands of your Majesty, denunciations against me would be of no avail."

Verse

"When they regards me as your slave, they will enthrone me, in their eye-ball.

Thy kindness which is open to all, has been lavished on me.

Otherwise who am I that people should take cognisance of me."

"(The Sultān) distinguished him with royal favours and bounty, clothed him with robe of honour and made him the gift of a drum and a standard."[1]

In 1361 A. D., Firoz Tughlak returned to Delhi without appointing his governor in Jājnagar and the Gaṅga King Bhānudeva (III) continued to rule as

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[1] *J. A. S. B.*, (letters), Vol. VIII (1942), PP. 72—74 ff.

before in Orissa. What amount of exaggeration was there hidden in the Persian history regarding that victorious campaign of Firoz in Orissa, is to be judged in future when contemporary documents from other sources would come to light.*

Now, we like to refer to a few men of letters of Orissa.

The royal *praśasti* of the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orisra which numbers 159 verses mentioned in their copperplate grants issued from 1198 to 1394 A. D., cannot be rejected as fictitiously panegyric and eulogy. This *praśasti* has gradually augmented by number in course of time with the change of kingship and new verses were added in it by eminent poets of Orissa. Who were these poets who supplemented the verses in the royal *praśasti* ?

When we examine the contemporary literature and epigraphical records, it is found that many scholars and poets used to live in the courts of the Gaṅga Kings. Some of them used to hold responsible posts like *Senāpati* (General), *Sandhivigrahin* (Minister of war and peace), *Mahāpātra* (Minister) etc. The Gaṅga Kings entertained sixteen ministers in their administration who were selected form among highly qualified persons on the line of hierarchy.

In the time of Bhānudeva (II) (1264—78 A. D.), a poet named Umāpati was posted as a General (*Senāpati*) of Orissa. It is he who composed the beautiful verses embodied in the temple inscription of Amareśvara in the village of Bonni (Srīkākulam district) and that of Anantavāsudeva at Bhuvaneswar (Puri district). In the Amareśvara Temple inscription

* The newly discovered Kaijang plates of Bhānu (III) of A. D. 1362 (*O. H. R. J.*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 3 & 4 P.P. II—24 ff.) fully supports our view—Author.

 which is dated in s. 1193 (1271 A. D.) he states :—

"Umāpatir - umāpatiś = caraṇa-rēṇur = ākalpakaṃ"

and

"cakōr - āmaranāthasya Sēnāpatir = Umāpatiḥ." [1]

In the temple inscription of Anantavāsudeva which is dated in s. 1200 (1278 A. D.) he writes :—

"Śrīmān = Umāpati-kavis-Tripurāri-dāsaḥ" [2]

That the *Senāpati* Umāpati of the Amareśvara temple inscription is no other than the *Kavi* Umāpati of the temple inscription of Anantavāsudeva is proved from the following verse which occurs in both the inscriptions :—

"Śēṣō nūnam-anūna mauli-vilasan-
māṇikya-mālāṃ-iṣād-
yat = tējaḥ kaṇikābhir = ēva vidhurō
majjat-phaṇa-grāmaṇiḥ ।
pātālā - mbhasi kiṃ ca yat[karighaṭā]-
jhaṅkāri-nāsā = nilair =
udvātō gaganē raviś = ciramisāv =
uḍḍīna-parṇṇāyatē ॥"

(Vide *Vr.* 3, of the inscription of Amarēśvara Temple).

"Śeṣaḥ svīya śiraḥ-sahaśra-vilasan-
māṇikya-mālā-chhalāt
yat = tējaḥ kaṇikābhir = ēṣa vidhurō
majjat-phaṇa = grā-maṇiḥ ।

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 717
[2] *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. I, PP. 274—88 ff.

Pātālā = ṁbhasi kiṁ ca yat = karighaṭā-
jhaṅkāri-nāsā = nilair =
udgātā gaganē raviś-ciramisāv =
uḍḍīna-parṇṇāyatē ||"

(Vide *Vr*. 4, of the inscription of Anantavāsudeva Temple).

Umāpati must have written some other Sanskrit works which have not yet been discovered.

Another scholar, poet and *guru* (teacher of philosophy) named Narahari Tīrtha was appointed by Bhānudeva (I) as a *Māṇḍalika* or governor of the province of Kaliṅga. He composed many Sanskrit verses which are popularly known as the *Narahariyati-stotrvṃ*. It is said that he was also appointed as a regent of the young prince, Narasiṁhadeva (II), (1278—1305 A. D.) for about twelve years or so.[1] But, from epigraphical records it is known that he was living in Kaliṅga in between the years 1264 and 1293 A. D.

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[1] *E. I.*, VI, I P. 260—80 ff.

THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE IMPERIAL GAṄGAS

Coḍagaṅga···Qns. (1) Gaṅgaigoṇḍā Coḍadevī, (2) Kasturikāmodinī,
(A. D. 1077—1147-48) (3) Indirā, (4) Candralekhā, (5) Lakṣmī *etc.*

Kāmārṇavadeva (A.D. 1147-48—1156-57)	Rāghavadeva (A.D. 1156-57—1170-71)	Rājarājadeva (II) (A.D. 1170-71—1190)	Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva (II) (A. D. 1190—98-99) Qn. Bāghalladevī

Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva (II)
(A. D. 1190—98-99)
Qn. Bāghalladevī

Rājarājadeva (III)
(1198-99—1211-12)
Qn. Moṅkaṇadevī born in the Cālukya family.

Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva (III)
(A. D. 1211-12—1238)
Qn. Kasturādevī

Narasiṁhadeva (I)
(A. D. 1238-39—1264)
Qn. Sītādevī

Bhānudeva (I)
(A. D. 1264-65—1278-79)
Qn. Jākalladevī born in the Cālukya family

Narasiṁhadeva (II)
(A. D. 1278-79—1308)
Qn. Coḍadevī

|

Bhānudeva (II)
(A. D. 1308-09—1327-28)
Qn. Lakṣhmīdevī

|

Narasiṁhadeva (III)
(A. D. 1327-28—1352-53)
Qn. Kamalādevī

|

Bhānudeva (III)
(A. D. 1352-53—1377)
Qn. Hirādevī

|

Narasiṁhadeva (IV)
(A. D. 1377-78—1413)

|

Bhānudeva (IV)
alias
Nissaṅkabhānu
(A. D. 1413-14—1436)

CHAPTER VIII

[Gaṅga Kings of Khimuṇḍi]

THE popular tradition is that Kalā Hammira, the progenitor of the Parlakimedi line, was the first son among the 18 sons of Kapilendradeva who left their parental home and established petty kingdoms in the border areas of Utkala. Kalā Hammira came to the south and lived in Kimiḍi country which was extended from Kalāhāṇḍi to Kaliṅga (coastal land) and from the river Rishikulyā up to the Lāṅgulyā. The capital town of Kimiḍi seems to be located at Guḍāri in the Gunupur Taluk.[1]

Kalā Hammira and his brothers left the home of their father in search of adventure. He was called Narasiṁhadeva among the members of his family, but, since he distinguished himself by killing a Yavana Chief, Hammira by name, he was popularly known as Kalā Hammira.[2] The Kaliṅga kingdom was, at this time, ruled by Narasiṁhadeva who was designated as *Jennā*. It consisted of a strip of land along the coast from the Godāvarī up to the Gaṅgā. The region of the Mahendra Hills and the rich valleys in the range, formed the upland of Kaliṅga. When Purușōttamadeva, the brother of Narasiṁhadeva, began to rule the kingdom from his throne at Cuttack or Biḍānasi-Kaṭaka, the upland people of Kaliṅga refused to support Purușōttamadeva. Hence, Narasiṁhadeva or Kalā Hammira and his brothers found in these uplands an easy place of refuge. They established themselves first at Guḍāri which is now in the Koraput

[1] According to the *Gaṅgavamśānucaritaṃ*, one Kajjalā Bhānudeva left Orissa for invasion of the neighbouring areas when a long period of interregnum ensued and the ministers selected Kapiḷendradeva as their king.

[2] The word *Hammira* is derived from *Amir*

District. Narasiṁhadeva was supported by all the chiefs in the upland region of the Kaliṅga country. He married a daughter of Jambukeśvara Rāya of the Cola dynasty, then ruling in the south. Narasiṁhadeva remained there and founded the Kimiḍi kingdom while the other brothers went to different parts and carved kingdoms for themselves. When Puruṣōttama-deva sent his force against the Colas, because they allied themselves with his brother. Narasiṁha-deva was not with him; the army of the Utkala kingdom was surrounded by the upland chiefs of Kaliṅga. The Cola force at the front and the Gaṅga force at the back could easily crush the army of the Utkal king. Just at this time, the people of Utkala also rose in revolt. Pruṣōttamadeva had to conciliate the people of Utkala before he could march against the Colas. Goddess Māṇikeśvarī, the family deity, advised him in a dream to make a peace with Narasiṁhadeva and to take him along with him on that expedition. Accordingly, the two brothers met in Kaliṅga and were reconciled with each other. when Puruṣōttamadeva granted a portion of Kaliṅga to his brother. It is needless to say that their combined force marched against the Colas and were victorious.

Mr. Hunter, in his *History of Orissa* (Vol. I, page 320-21), narrates the following story about the Kānci War :—"The King of Orissa, Puruṣōttama-deva having heard the beauty of the lotus-eyed daughter of the Kāñjīvaram Prince sent a rich embassy to ask her in marriage. But, the Kāñjīvaram monarch worshipped another god, Gaṇeśa, and swore he would never give his daughter to the Orissa King who acted as a sweeper before the deity Jagannātha at the time of the car festival. So, the Orissa Prince gathered his armies together and

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marched southwards to lay siege to Kāñjīvaram, but, his troops fled in the battle and he came back in sorrow to Puri, and threw himself at the feet of his god. Then, the good Lord Jagannātha had pity on him, and told him to lead another army southwards and that a sure sign would be given to him. Hearing this, he rose up hastily and again called his chieftains together and they marched southwards praising the Lord of the World. And as they marched they looked out for the sure sign which was to be given to them, until the hearts of the captains and of the company began to sink within them.

Yet, the king believed that the good Lord Jagannātha would not forget his servants. One evening, as he halted on the bank of the Chilkā Lake near the boundary of his kingdom, pondering on many things, a maiden suddenly stood before him with a ring in her hand. "This ring", she said, "the Good God sends to thee, O, Prince ! two horsemen—One in a black steed, the other on a white, gave it to me of thee, and rode on southwards". Then the king knew that Jagannātha had remembered his servants, and that two riders were the Good Lord himself and his brother.

So, the captains, with their companies marched southwards glad of heart, and after war they put to flight the Kāñjīvaram King who worshipped another god and took his daughter captive. But, the Orissa Prince in his wrath on the slaughter of his people and the contempt shown to the Lord Jagannātha swore that the lady should be married to a Māla (sweeper) and commanded his minister to wed her to a slave. Yet, the soldiers, when they saw her beauty,

forgot their dead comrades and their own wounds and had pity on her and said, "surely, this lady is fit even for our Lord, the King; surely our Lord does foolishly to make her a scavanger's wife". But, the old minister spoke not a word, waiting patiently till the time of Lord Jagannātha's procession should come round, and, meanwhile, he kept the princess shut up with the ladies of his own palace. When the summer festival was come, the good Lord Jagannātha sat aloft in his car, with the priests and the people thronging round, sending his praise and blessing him, and tugging at the ropes, and the king humbly swept the dust of the road in front of the God who had given him the victory. The aged minister brought forth the maiden and placing her side by side with the king in the face of the people said, "take Oh, my King, her, whom the good Lord Jagannātha has sent. My Lord swore in his wrath that 'I should marry the maiden to a sweeper of the street', and I gave her to thee; my king". So, the king wedded the maiden and signs of wonder attended their marriage life.

After his return from the Cola-war, Narasiṁhadeva also adopted Māṇikeśvarī as his family deity and from that time onwards, the kings of the Khimuṇḍi country have been worshipping this goddess during the time of the *Daśarā* as their family deity.

The Khimuṇḍi area has had its individual existence from at least the 10th century A. D. It is mentioned in the Dirghasi inscription[1] of the time of Rājarājadeva, father of Coḍagaṅgadeva of the 11th century A. D. Mention is made in that inscription that one Vanapati, commander of the king of Kaliṅga, captured some

[1] *E. I.*, Vol. IV, PP. 315—17 ff.

areas, namely Kimiḍi, Giḍrisiṅgi, Kośala, Utkala etc. It is, therefore, clear that Khimuṇḍi was a separate region which was not under the kings of Kaliṅga. In the 12th century A. D. we get some epigraphical records of the Kālacuri kings of Ratanpur where it is mentioned that the kings of that dynasty had captured Khemaṇḍi, including Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura,[1] etc. Khemaṇḍi is said to be a '*Maṇḍala*' (province) having no administrative connection either with Kaliṅga or Dakṣiṇa-Kośala. So, it was subject to pressure from both the wings *viz.* south-west and north-east. Finally, it was captured by Kalā Hammira, who established a permanent footing that strongly continued up to the persent day.[2]

When Narasiṁhadeva (Kalā Hammira) began to rule from Guḍāri Kaṭaka, the Khimuṇḍi Kingdom consisted of the present Taluks of Baḍakhimuṇḍi, Sānakhimuṇḍi, Pārlākhimuṇḍi, Bastar and a portion of

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[1] *I. A.*, Vol. XVII, P. 138. The relevant verse is already quoted

[2] Regarding the names of 'Kimiḍi' and 'Paralā-Kimiḍi' there are different versions. Some presume that the name 'Khimuṇḍi' has been derived from "Khe-maṇḍi" which means "that which decorates the sky." Some scholars think that formerly it was inhabited by a tribe named "Khemuṇḍā" after whom it was named "Khemaṇḍi." Some say that it is an aboriginal name of the place. It may also be presumed that the name "Khemuṇḍi" has been derived from the word "Khē-mukhi" which is the name of one of the sixtyfour Yōginis. In the 64 Yōgini cloister at Bheḍāghāt a number of Yōginis are enshrined with their names inscribed on the padestals. The 20th Yōgini is named Khē-Mukhi (Mr. Benerji read it as 'Khe-makhi') (Vide Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar', PP. 33-34* ff .)

Regarding the name of 'Paralā-khe-muṇḍi', Mr. Maltby writes in the *Ganjam District Manual* :—

"The coral-eyed and coral-headed". Any way, I think the name "Khemaṇḍi" is a derivation of the word "Kheḍi", a family designation of the Eastern Kadambas who lived in this region during the 10th century A. D. The word "Kheḍi" has been used as a suffix to the names of the Kadamba Kings of Kaliṅga.

Koraput district.* The family goddess of the Rāj families of Bastar and Kalāhāṇḍi is Māṇikeśwarī. From the history of the family of the Kalāhāṇḍi-Rāj it is known that one Jagannātha Narayana was the ruler of the Gaṅga family who was childless and adopted his daughter's son, after which the Nāgavaṁśī Kings began to rule that portion of the country. Even a portion of the Bolangir district was under

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* It seems that Bhānudeva (I) sent his Commander, Ballabha Sāhasa-malla, in or before 1265 A. D. to fight against the King of Kemuḍi (or Kimiḍi) which was done with success. The fact is recorded in an inscription of the Siṁhāchalam Temple which is quoted hereunder :—

(First Face)[1]

1. Svasti[।] Śākābdē naga-nāga-bhū-śaśimitē Kō-
2. mmapradhān=ātmajaḥ Śrīmān Vallabha-
3. Sāhasamahā[ma]llō vadānyā-
4. graṇīḥ [।] Prādāt Siṁha-mahidhṛ-mau-
5. limaṇayē dēvāya Pōrām=iti grā-
6. maṃ Bāṇu-vasundharādhipa-bhu[V][kā]
7. mābhivṛddhai dhṛuvaṃ [॥] Śrī Śa[ka]varaṣambu-
8. lu 1187 gu nēṇṭi Śrīmad=Ananta-
9. varmma Śrī Vīra Bāṇudēva-pravarddha-
10. māna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsara-
11. [m]bulu 3 gu Srāhi Kanya-śukla-tra-

(Second Face)

12. yōdaśiyu guruvāramunāṇḍu[2]
13. Vīra Śrī Bāṇudēva Mahārājulaku ā-
14. yuṣkāmārthamugā Kēmuḍiyya
15. dēśādhikārulaina Ballabha Sāhasama-
16. llura Śrī Narasiṁhaṇāthuniki
17. tāmaṇiki Bōbbilivara Ḍārapu vi-
18. ṣayamulōni Pōrāmu aniṭi
19. uru sa-grāmā=raṇya dhārā-
20. pūrvvakamu sēsi iccitimi

[The total number of lines of this inscription is 45]

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1213; *A. R.* No. 365—XLVI of 1899; *Ins. Or.*, Vol. V, Dt. I, *No. 113.*

[2] The corresponding date is Tuesday, the 24th Sept. 1265 A. D.

the sway of the kings of Khimuṇḍi which fact is known from the family history of the *Mahārājā of* Patna (Bolangir), (Vide the *Vaijalakārikā*).

Kalā Hammira began to rule in Guḍāri Kaṭaka in Śaka. 1167 (1245 A. D.) and continued to rule there up to Śaka 1187 (1265 A. D.). Some of his achievements are mentioned in the family history of the *Gajapatis* of Khimuṇḍi, written in palm-leaf manuscripts. It is known that he built the temple of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara at Guḍāri. There is another village in Gunpur Taluk (Koraput Dt.) which is famous for a temple. situated on the summit of a hill near the village of Padmapur where there is an inscription of the 7th century A.D. The god of that temple, according to the said inscription, is called Candralēkheśvara where Dharmakīrti, a renouned Buddhist monk resided. The architectural style of the temple may be compared with that of the temple of Rājarāṇī at Bhuwaneśvar.

After Kalā Hammira or Narasiṁhadeva, his son Madana Rudra, or Madanadeva ruled from 1265 to 1290 A.D. According to some old records, his eldest son, Deva, died in young age. He was also known as Padmabhānu and *Sarvajña*, the all-knowing, which speaks of his wisdom and vast learning of *Śāstras.* In the time of Lakṣmī Narasiṁhabhānu, the king of Orissa named Niśśaṅka Bhānu of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty (of Bidānasi Kaṭaka) sent a large army against him. The king of Khimuṇḍi sought the help of Mohammad-Shāh Bāhmani on a condition that there should be established an alliance between him and the rulers of Golkonda if he would get independence. Accordingly, Mohammad-Shāh sent his army to help the Khimuṇḍi king, whereafter Niśśaṅka

Bhānu's attempt of the invation of Kimiḍi was frustrated. But, after some time, the Khimuṇḍi king discovered that he had to pay a tribute to the Mohammedans; so he thought of reconciling himself with the King of Utkal. Then, again he sent an embassy stating that some portions of the kingdom in costal area would be left under the King of Orissa and that he should assist Bhānudeva in recovering his territory in the south which he lost during the Mohammedan invasion. The King of Orissa seems to have accepted the proposal and immediately dispatched a large army consisting of 10,000 foot and 8,000 horses to wage war against the Mohammedans of Golkunda. The Khimuṇḍi king, according to the above·treaty, took part in that expedition. At last, a portion of the Telugu country, which was previously captured by the Bāhamani kings, was recaptured. As a retaliatory measure a large Mohammedan army, consisting of 20,000 soldiers, was dispatched to this part of the country. This time, the united force of Orissa and Khimuṇḍi suffered a defeat. The retreating armies of the kings of Orissa and Khimuṇḍi were prevented from marching back rapidly. Meanwhile, the Bāhmani Sultān attacked Orissa. The Kings of Orissa had to make peace with the Bihmanā Sultān. The Khimuṇḍi king also had to pay a heavy tribute *i.e.* men and material to him. So, he concluded peace with the Sultān without delay.

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT REGARDING THE PEDIGREE OF KHIMUṆḌI LINE

Name of the Kings	Mr. Sewell,[1] (I) A. D.	B. Seshagiri Rao (II)[2] A. D.	S. Paricha[3] (III) A. D.
1. Narasiṁhadeva (*alias* Kalā Hammira)	1245—1265	1245—1285	1245—1261
2. Madanadeva	1265—1290	1285—1320	1261—1281
3. Nārāyaṇadeva	1290—1309	1320—1355	1281—1296
4. Ānandadeva	1309—1317	1355—1386	1296—1297
5. Ananta Rudradeva	1317—1325		1297—1311
6. Jaya Rudradeva[4]	1325—1367	1386—1431	1311—1344
7. Lakṣmī Narasimha-Bhānudeva	1367—1392	1431—1456	1344—1364
8. Madhukarṇadeva	1392—1423	1456—1488	1364—1388
9. Mṛtyuñjaya Bhānu-deva	1423—1457	1488—1522	1388—1415
10. Mādhava Madana-sundara Bhānudeva	1457—1494	1522—1599	1415—1444
11. Candra Betāla Bhānudeva	1494—1527	1599—1603	1444—1470
12. Suvarṇa Liṅga-Bhānudeva	1527—1566	1603—1642	1470—1501
13. Śivaliṅga Nārāyaṇa-deva	1566—1590	1642—1670	1501—1520

[1] R. Sewell's *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. II, PP. 185-86 ff.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, PP. 257-58 ff.

[3] *The Kaliṅga Sañcikā* (Telugu Edition), P. 416 ff.

[4] Before Jayarudra, Nṛsimharudra ruled for 30½ years as per list II.

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT REGARDING THE PEDIGREE OF KHIMUṆḌI LINE *(Contd.)*

Name of the Kings	Mr. Sewell.[1] (I) A. D.	B. Seshagiri Rao (II)[2] A. D.	S. Paricha[3] (III) A. D.
14. Suvarṇa Keśari Nārāyaṇadeva	1590—1630	1670—1710	1520—1552
15. Mukunda Rudra Nārāyaṇadeva	1630—1656	1710—1736	1522—1573
16. Mukundadeva	1656—1674	1736—1754	1573—1591
17. Ananta Padmanābha Nārāyaṇadeva	1674—1686	1754—1767	1591—1603
18. Sarvajña Jagannātha-Nārāyaṇadeva	1686—1702	1767—1784	1603—1619
19. Narasiṁhadeva	1702—1729	1784—1811	1619—1646
20. Vīra Padmanābha Nārāyaṇadeva	1729—1748	1811—1824	1646—1662
21. Vīra Pratāpa Rudra Nārāyaṇadeva	1748—1766	1824—1842	1662—1693
	−13	−89	+60
	1753 A. D.*	1753 A. D.	1753 A. D.

N. B.: It has been proved from other sources that the 21st king (Vīra Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva) ended his rule in 1753 A. D. While comparing all the three statements given above, it is seen that Mr. Sewell's list is more correct than the other two lists. The difference of 13 years in Sewell's list, from the total number of years, may be ignored in the face of the length of the pedigree.

82 Following is the quotation from the *"The rise of the Mohammedan power in India till the year 1612"*, by John Briggs. (Vol. II, P. 465)

NIZAM SHĀH BĀHĀMĀNI

"When, out of pity to mankind, the Almighty had removed Hoomayoon the cruel from the world, and his son Nizam Shāh succeeded to the throne of the Deccan, the queen-mother acted as regent. She was a woman of great ambitions herself; but she did nothing without consulting Khwaja Jehan and Khwaja Mohammad Gawan, admitting no other nobles to share in the administration. Mahmood Gawan, who held the government of Berar was appointed Vazir, and Khwaja Jehan assumed the office of Vakeek-oos-sultanut and was made Governor of Teliṅgānā. These two ministers attended every morning at the palace, and communicated, through a female with the queen-mother, who after giving her approvation, sent the young king to the hall of audience, where he sat on the throne, on his right hand side Khwaja Jehan and upon the left Mahmood Gawan. These officers gave orders and transacted business in his presence. By the happy co-operation and unanimity of three personages, the injuries occasioned by the tyranny of the late king were soon repaired ; but the surrounding potentates—both Mussalamans and Hindus—heared that the throne of the Deccan was filled by a child and that the nobles and officers were disaffected, owing to the cruelties of their late sovereign, conceived the design of encroaching on his dominions. In the first instance, the Rāyas of Orissa, in conjuction with the Zamindars of the Teliṅgānā, invaded the kingdom by the route of Rājahmundry, plundering and laying waste the country as far as Kowlas. The queen-mother

and the ministers, in no wise dismayed. collected an army of 40,000 men and marched with the young monarch to oppose the enemy. The Rāya of Orissa advanced to even six miles of the Rāya's army and even 10 of the capital of Ahmedabad Bidor, it being his design to demand restitution of the country of Teliṅgānā and to exact tribute from the unfit king. Two ministers, in reply to a communication of this nature, said, that their master had designed to invade and conquer Orissa and Jājanagar : but since the Rāya had himself come so far with his army, the king would be able to effect the object of defeating him without the trouble of marching to these distant countries; moreover, that the king resolved not to allow a man of the enemy to escape unless the amount of injuries done to dominions should be repaid; and the Rāya agreed to pay tribute. With this message, Shāh-Mohib-ooa was despatched; but, his army of 19 horsemen being stopped by the infidel, he charged the Rāyas advance pickets so boldly, that supposing the whole army was in motion, the Hindus fell back on their main body, and the Rāyas of Orissa and Teliṅgānā, leaving their heavy baggage on the ground, retreated during the night. Khwaja Jehan went in pursuit next day while the king and Mahmood Gawan made easy marches after him. Rāyas found that they lost two to three thousand men in every day's march."

The fort as described above, which gave shelter to the Rāya of Orissa, is probably located in the Khimuṇḍi territory, because there was a strong fort named "Mansur Gaḍa" near Hiramandalam in the Ex-Zamindary of Pālakōṇḍā, mentioned in the Mughal documents of the time of Jāhāngīr. Briggs further writes :—

"Soon after this campaign, Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa invaded the Bāhamōni territories through Khandesh with 28 thousand horse : and the Rāyas of Orissa and Telingānā, having again taken the field, renewed their depredations on the countries of Islam. The ministers, accordingly, ordered the Telingānā division to protect that province against the Hindoos; and taking Nizam Sāha with them they marched with the forces of Beejāpoor, Dowlatābad, and Berar, against Sooltan Mahmood.

"In the year 876, Ambur Rāy, cousin to the Rāya of Oorea, complained to Mahmood Sāha, that a *Brāhmin*, his adopted son, had usurped the Government in defiance of his prior claim to its inheritance: and Ambur Rāy now promised, if the king would assist him with troops to regain his right, he would become his tributary. Mahmood Sāha, who had a great desire to possess the territory of Oorea, including Rājahmundry and Koṇḍāpally, thought this request favourable to his views; and by the advice of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan having conferred the title of Nizam-Ool-Moolk on Mullik Hussun Bheiry, directed him to proceed with a considerable army to that quarter. On the borders of Orissa, he was joined by Ambur Rāy who was placed in possession of his hereditary dominions. Nizam-Ool-Moolk, accompanied by Ambur Rāy, now proceeded against the Koṇḍāpally and Rājahmundry, both which places he reduced and by the orders of Mahmood Sāha, having established proper military garrisons to ensure their security he permitted Ambur Rāy to depart to his own country, himself returning with much booty to court. On this occasion, Nizam-Ool-Moolk, at the recommendation of the queen-Mother

and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, was confirmed in the Government of Teliṅgānā.

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"Not long after this dreadful visitation of famine, while the country was just reviving from depopulation, intelligence came that the garrison for Koṇḍāpally had in a state of mutiny, murdered their governor, seized the property of his dependants and given up the fort to Bhīmarājā Oorea, a person originally patronised by Mahmood Sāha.

Bhīmarāja, on this occasion sent persons to wait on the Rāy of Orissa, representing, that if he wished to recover his hereditary dominions in Teliṅgānā now was the time, as the resources of the Deccan were exhausted by two years of famine and the armies were reduced to small number. Bhīma Rāy, also, promised to join him, provided he was admitted to share in the conquests from the Mussalamans; and engaged for the present to allow him to retain the fort and the district of Koṇḍāpally. The Rāy of Orissa, availing himself of these offers, collected 10,000 horse and 8,000 foot and having summoned the Rāja of Jājnagar to his assistance, entered Teliṅgānā without delay.

"Nizam-Ool-Moolk, governor of Rājahmundry, unable to cope with so large a force, shut himself up in that fortress and sent account to the court of his situation.

Mahmood Sāha, by the advice of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, resolved to march against the infidels in person. Having, therefore, advanced one year's pay to the troops, he began his journey with

all practical expedition. On his arrival near Rājahmundry, the enemy declined to meet him in the field: Bhīmarāja retired to the fortress of Koṇḍapally and the Rāy of Orissa, crossing the river at Rājahmundry, retreated towards his own dominions. Mahomed Sāha, enraged at this unprovoked aggression, left Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, with the Prince Mahomed Khān at Rājahmundry, and marched with 20,000 horses to punish the rebellious idolator. In the later part of the year 882 (1477 A. D.), the king penetrated to the capital of Orissa, and slew without mercy the inhabitants, at the same time devastating the enemy's country. The Rāy having withdrawn his troops to the very extremity of his possessions, the Mohammedans managed unmolested, and collected contributions from the people. The king, at length determined to send for his son and Khwaja Mahamood Gawan, and to establish them in the province, which he determined to occupy as a permanent conquest.

The Rāy of Orissa, hearing of the kings intentions, sent repeated embassies with presents of elephants and other valuable articles, to open the door of forgiveness, declaring solemnly that he would never, on any further occassion, assist the Zamindars of Teliṅgānā. To this the king replied that, if he would give him up 25 elephants which he named and which had belonged to the late Rāy, his predecessor, he would make peace. Although the Rāy priced these elephants next to his life, he dared not refuse; they were accordingly sent, clothed in rich trappings, bearing in their trunks chains of gold and silver. After which, the king commenced his return from Orissa.

On the route, while one day engaged at some distance from his route in hunting, he saw a fort on a high hill, and going to view it nearer with his attendants, asked some of the country people to whom it belonged. They replied that it was the property of the Rāy of Orissa and that no power dared to be so rash as to cast even a look of conquest upon it. The king, incensed at this remark, halted at the foot of the hill and the next day began the siege which continued a month and a half without success. At the expiration of that period, the Rāy sent an apology for the rudeness of his subjects, whom he called clowns unacquainted with politeness and entreated his Majesty would consider the fort his own by conquest, but bestow it upon him as one of his Vassals. This ingenuous, apology pleasing the king, he raised the siege, and continued his march.

Mahomed Sāha now sat down before Koṇḍāpally, and Bhīma Rāy, after six months, being much distressed, sought for pardon; which being granted at the intercession of some of the nobility, he surendered the fort and town to the royal troops. The king, having gone to view the fort, broke down an idolatrous temple, and killed some *Brāhmins*, who officiated at it with his own hands, as a point of religion. He then gave orders for a masque to be erected on the foundation of the temple."

From the above description, it is apparant that the struggle between the Rāyas of Orissa and the Bāhamoni Sultāns in the south was due to the insubordination shown by the outlying principalities of Orissa. According to a tradition, the southern force of Orissa were very strong. Therefore, some commanders were given the title of *Dakṣiṇa Kavāta* or the 'Southern-gate.' The Rāy of Orissa, or the

last known king Bhānudeva IV, was defeated due to negligence of his military preparations. According to the *Bhakti-Bhāgavatam* of Kavidindima Jīvadeva, he was a characterless young man and was disliked by his nobles. So, he was named as *Matta* Bhānu. After him, the Gaṅga dynasty ceased to continue in Utkala and the dominion was occupied by Kapileś-varadeva who was formerly a commander-in-chief under the Gaṅgas and who belonged to the solār dynasty. He was a very powerful ruler of Orissa and comparable to Coḍagaṅgadeva in military activities. He waged war against the Mohammedans in the Deccan. The accounts of Feriṣta gives his achievements in full description. In his time, the Kimiḍi country was under the son of Lakṣmi Narasiṁha Bhānu who was known as Madhukarṇabhānu. He came to the throne in 1392 A. D. and ruled till 1441*. During his reign, there was a rebellion in Orissa, after which he occupied the throne as successor of Mattabhānu, who was trecherously murdered in his own palace through some machinations of one Haricandana of Bāṇapur (Puri district), according to the *Mādalāpāñji*. Although Orissa was completely subjugated, Kaliṅga did not submit. The chiefs of Kaliṅga and the disaffected officers of the former king of Utkala brought Madhukarṇabhānu from Khimuṇḍi and crowned him Prince at Nagarikaṭaka to organise ' their force for defence against Kapileśvara who invaded the country only to suffer a defeat in the hands of Madhu-karṇabhānu. He was driven back as far as Kākaṭapur in Puri district. After this, Madhukarṇabhānu visited many hill-forts during his return journey when, at last, he halted near Mukhaliṅgam. The god, Madhu-keśvara, appeared in a dream and asked him to

* There is a slight variation in sewells list.

repair His temple. Thus, he reconstructed it*. This fact has been mentioned in some old palm-leaf manuscripts. There was a keen contest going on between the Reḍḍi kings of Rājahmundry and the Gajapatis of Orissa during the first part of the 15th century A. D. Dr. Venkataramanayya, in his paper on the "The Gajapati Bhānudeva[1] IV", has cited Feriṣta and stated that in A. D. 1421[2] Sultān Hoshang of Dhārā invaded Orissa for the acquisition of elephants and horses. He came to Jājnagar disguised as a merchant to procure elephants. At that time one Allāḍa of the Reḍḍi family became a friend of the kings of Orissa. So, he attacked the Sultān on his way back.

Dr. V. Ramanayya writes :—"The friendly relation between Bhānudeva (IV) and the Reḍḍis of Rājahmundry did not out last the time of Allāḍa who died probably in A. D. 1423. Soon after Allāḍa's death, Bhānudeva (IV) seems to have invaded the coastal Telugu country and reduced it to subjugation. According to the tradition preserved in the *Gaṅga Vaṁśānucaritaṃ*, Kajjalā Bhānudeva, having made his kingdom free from enemies, went on an expedition of conquest to the south; and taking advantage of his absence from the capital, his ministers set up on his throne Kapileśvara. On getting the news of the revolution in his capital, Kajjalā Bhānudeva conquered the Guḍāri Kaṭaka country and established himself there.[3]

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* According to Korni and Vizagapatam plates of Cōḍagaṅga, Madhukāmārṇava constructed the temple of Madhukeśvara at Mukhaliṅgam. So, Madhukāmārṇava, who lived before Cōḍagaṅga, cannot be identified with Madhukarṇa of the palm-leaf manuscripts and that of the legends of the Gaṅgas of Khimuṇḍi.

[1] Vide *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIX, PP. 135-47 ff.

[2] *Tabaqat-i-Akbary* (Eng. Tr.) III, 475 ff. Brigg's Feriṣta, IV., P. 178.

[3] Vide *The Kaliṅga-Deśa-Sañcikā* (Telugu), pp. 342-44 ff.

In the different "*Kaifayats*" of the Āndhra districts, the following staement is found regarding the Gajapati supremacy over the Āndhra area :—

"Then Lāṅgulāgajapati, the lord of the Gajapati-throne, conquered all the hill and the land forts from Cuttack to Udayagiri. He ruled for a period of 12 years (Śaka 1342-53). Then, the country passed under the sway of the Narapati kings of Anagoṇḍi".[1]

Dr. V. Ramanayya says that in between the years 1423 and 1428-29 A. D. the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍāviḍu were not powerful. So, that was the time of Kajjalābhānu's invasion of the south. After Bhānudeva (IV) was defeated by Devarāya (II) of Karṇāṭa, he was driven back by the Reḍḍis. "It was probably after the loss of this region that Bhānudeva unable to return to his capital owing to machinations of Kapileśvara, retired to Guḍāri Kaṭaka, identified with Vārāṇaśi of Pārlākimedi Zamindary and established himself there ".[2]

After Madhukarṇabhānu, Mṛtyuñjayabhānu ruled from 1423 to 1457 A. D. The capital of this king and his successors remained at Nagarikaṭaka (near Mukhaliṅga) which was the ancient capital known as Kaliṅganagara. During his reign, Kapileśvara

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[1] Vide *Further sources of Vijayanagara History*, III, pp. 49–50 ff. Probably during his sons' (Bhānudeva's) southern expedition, one of his commanders named Ballabha Sāhasamalla was deputed in the third regnal year of the King (Bhānu) to invade the Khimuṇḍi country, which was successfully accomplished by that officer. After this, he endowed some grants to the god Narasiṁhanātha at Simhācalam in Śaka 1187 or A. D. 1265 (Vide *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1213 and *A. R.*, No. 365 XLVI of 1899.)

[2] Dr. V. Ramanayya has wrongly identified Guḍāri with Vārāṇaśi Kaṭaka of the inscriptions, which place has already been identified with the present Biḍānaśi near Cuttack, Therefore, Kajjalābhānu must have taken shelter at Guḍāri Kaṭaka under the protection of the Rājās of Khimuṇḍi,

Gajapati of Orissa invaded Kaliṅga, and Mṛtyuñjayabhānu fought vigorously with him. According to the *Jagannātha Kaifiyat*, Kapileśvaradeva invaded Khimuṇḍi in his 10th regnal year. From his Srīkūrmaṃ inscription, it is known that he visited South Orissa in his 25th regnal year (1455 A.D.) and 32nd regnal year (1460 A. D.). In his 27th regnal year he visited the temple of Simhācalaṃ.

A Peace was concluded by Bhānu as a result of which Kapileśvaradeva got a portion of Kaliṅga. He became the Lord of Kaliṅga while Mṛtyuñjayabhānu remained as a petty king at Khimuṇḍi. At last, both the kings allied with each other on the basis of reciprocal help in times of trouble from the out sides. In 1451 A. D. when Kapileśvaradeva had to fight with the Mohammedans, Mṛtyuñjayabhānu joined him with a large army in the Deccan which made Kapileśvara regain the forts of Koṇḍāpalli, Vinukoṇḍā, Bellamkoṇḍā, Nāgārjunikoṇḍā and other forts, which were lost during the time of Niśaṅkabhānu or Bhānu (IV), the last Gaṅga king of Orissa.

Mṛtyuñjayabhānu was succeeded by his son Hammīra Mādhavasundara Gajapati, in the year 1467 A. D. He was well known through out the Southern India as a *Sarvajña* and also occupied some portions of Kaliṅga. In 1490 A. D., he marched with a large army against the then Gajapati king of Orissa, Puruṣōttamadeva. A short while after this, peace was concluded between the two kings, according to which the coastal tracts, starting from Chattigaḍa (near the modern Khurdā) up to Simhācalaṃ, was left under the king of Khimuṇḍi who, in his turn, agreed to give a free passage along the coast for the armies of Orissa to march southwards.

92 From the family records of Pārlākhimuṇḍi-Rāj and other accounts, it is gathered that Kapileśvara Gajapati had 18 sons. In his old age, he requested the family god Jagannātha, to advise him as to which of his sons was capable enough to hold the reins of administration. In a dream, the Lord Jagannātha advised him to select the son who would hold up his (Kapileśvara's) train while proceeding for *darśan* in the temple. Keeping this in mind, the king asked his sons to follow him to the temple of Jagannātha along with his nobles and ministers and *sevakas* of the temple. On the *Bāiśi-Pāvaccha* (the 22 flights) of the temple, when the king with his followers was proceeding, suddenly the upper robe of the king fall down and his illegitimate son, Puruṣōttamadeva, soon held it up. The king, remembering the advice of the Great Lord in the dream, called out his sons and nobles and disclosed the secrets of his dream. His 18 legitimate sons, including Kalā Hammīra (the eldest one), being displeased at this announcement, requested the king to arrange for an open test, according to which Puruṣōttama would stand at a reasonable distance in the center while his brothers would throw spears at him; and if he would survive by the mercy of God, then they would believe the story and accept that it was the decision of God Jagannātha, the Almighty. The king there upon agreed to this condition. Puruṣōttama, the illegitimate son, was asked to stand at the centre with in a circle formed by eighteen brothers with lifted spears. They threw their weapons, one by one, aiming at Puruṣōttama; but none of the spears injured him. Those who were present, accepted the massage of the God and asked the 18 brothers to leave the country in search of their own fortunes. After this, they left Orissa and settled in different parts of the country in Kaliṅga.

Some scholars are of opinion that, since the Khemuṇḍi kings belong to the Gaṅga dynasty and Ātreya *gōtra*, their family connection with the Sūryavaṁśī king, Kapileśvara Gajapati, is only a myth.

We have already discussed, how the five collateral branches of the Gaṅgas began to establish their own kingdoms in Kaliṅga at five different provinces where they continued to rule up to the time of Vajrahasta (IV). It has been proved by epigraphical evidences (Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra has accepted this theory). A copper-plate inscription of the time of Dānārṇava was found near Guṇpur which is not far from Guḍāri (Vide *I. O.*, Vol. II, pp. 232-36 ff.). From this inscription we gather that a village named Khilliṅgār was granted to a Brāhmaṇa and that village was identified with the modern Khilliṅgār, situated at a distance of about six miles from Guḍāri. So, it is quite clear that a line of the Gaṅgas lived in that region called Kaṇṭakavartini as mentioned in that copper-plate inscription which, on palaeographical grounds, has been assigned to the 11th or 12th century A. D. *e. g.*, when the Imperial Gaṅgas were in power in Orissa. Another copper-plate grant, found from Bagusālā near Uppalaḍā in Pārlākhimuṇḍi Taluk (vide *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. X), records a grant of one *Rāṇaka* Rāmadeva of Tailapa—vaṁśa[1] who lived there as a *Rāṇaka*. The abstract of this inscription is that—" *Rāṇaka* Rāmadeva of the Tailapa family, who has been glorified owing to the boon of the Goddess Āgi-Devi, announced from Cikhali about the grant of the village of Upalavaḍā, to one Revaṇa Nāyaka. This village is

[1] Palaeographically, the date of this inscription should be attributed to the 12th or 13th century A. D.

situated to the north of another village Vakasūlaka[1] and to the west of Pācali. The grant is written by one Bhola Śarmā. The village Vakasūlaka of the inscription is identified with the modern Bāghasālā of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Taluk. Cikhali, from which place the grant was issued, may be identified with Tikkali or the present Tekkalipātnā. There is a copper-plate grant of Nandavarman of 221 Gaṅga-era, where Cikhalikā, as a village in Phareya-Bhukti, is mentioned.[2] This copper-plate was discovered from Santāb-ommali near Tekkali. These two inscriptions throw light on the existence of a separate kingdom of the Gaṅgas. This portion of the country, comprising of Guṇpur, Pārlākhimuṇḍi and Tekkali, was separated from Kaliṅga-Daṇḍapāṭa in the regime of the Imperial Gaṅgas and the Gajapatis of Orissa.

Mādhavasundaradeva ruled from 1457-94 A. D. He was succeeded by his son, Candramauli Gajapati, who ruled from 1494—1527 A. D. After him, his son, Svarṇaliṅgabhānu, came to the throne in 1527 and reigned for 39 years *i. e.*, up to 1566 A. D. In the year 1527 A. D., he had to fight against the then *Gajapati* king of Orissa. But, soon peace was concluded and according to which the *Gajapati* was recognised as the sovereign king of Kaliṅga and a passage was left along the coast for his armies to march upon towards the south.

There is no record to trace out the political relationship between the Gaṅga kings of Khimuṇḍi and the Gajapatis of Orissa when the latter engaged in wars against the kings of Karṇāṭa.

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[1] The modern name is Bāghasālā.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, PP. 185-99 ff.

Pratāparudradeva's Anantavaram copper-plates of A. D. 1500 prove that in the begining of the 16th century A. D. the Gajapati kings of Orissa possessed a very extensive empire which extended as far as the river Krisnā in the south. The power of these Gajapati kings in the Deccan remained firm up to the time of Vīrabhadra Gajapati, son of Pratāparudra, who was finally defeated by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya.

After the time of Svarṇaliṅgabhānu (1527-66 A. D.) and his son Sivaliṅgabhānu (1566-90 A. D.), there lived some renowned poets in the country of Khimuṇḍi. One Kṛṣṇa Śrīcandana has composed a *Kāvya* in Sanskrit known as the *Abda-dūta*[1] or the 'cloud-massenger' an important and interesting work that gives a short genealogical account of the Gaṅga kings at the end of the book. The author (Kṛṣṇa Śrīcandana), was the son of one Nārāyaṇa Maṅgarāja and grandson of Rāmacandra Maṅgarāja who acted as ministers of Khimuṇḍi. A comentary on this *kāvya* was written by the king of Kimidi himself who was the master and patron of the author. His name is Bhīmadeva.

Recently a Sanskrit drama, *Maṇimālā*, written by the same author has been discovered and being edited by Dr. Srimati Sabitri Rout, Cuttack. The author was living under Bhīmadeva *alias* Dharmarāja *alias*

[1] A palm-leaf manuscript of this book is kept in the Manuscript Library of the Orissa State Museum, Bhuvaneśwar. (No. L/55)

Padmanābhadeva[1] who belonged to the glorious family of the Gaṅgas of Khimuṇḍi. The author was his minister (*Saciva*).[2]

The kings of Khimuṇḍi remained as friends of the *Gajapatis* of Orissa since the time of Kapileśvaradeva. So, they extended their help to his grand son, Pratāparudra Gajapati, who was repeatedly attacked by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Karṇāṭa. It is stated in some Telugu *Kāvyas* that the latter proceeded up to Kaṭaka and completed his victory over Pratāparudra Gajapati in A. D. 1513-14.[3] Some scholars are of opinion that Vārāṇaśi Kaṭaka is the modern Cuttack. But, we think that the town which was captured by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya is the modern Vārāṅaśi (now re-named as Kāsinagara) in the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Taluk in the district of Ganjam. So, it is quite probable that the then king of Pārlākhimuṇḍi took active parts in the battles fought between the kings of Karṇāṭa and Utkala.

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[1] Sewell calls him as Candra Betālabhānudeva (Vide *List of Antiquities*, Madras, Vol. II, PP. 185-86 ff.)

[2] "Svasti Śrī Rāmacandra-Khimuḍi-nṛupamaṇēr–Maṅgarājō yaśōdādēviyaṃ Maṅgarājaṃ tanayam–ajanayad–Rāya Nārāyaṇaṃ ca ।
Padmārādhākṣa(khya)dēvyāḥ prathita-tanu-bhuvā tasya nām–āvdadūtaṃ
Kṛuṣṇa Śrī-Candanēna priyam–iti racitaṃ Khaṇḍa-kāvyaṃ samāptaṃ ॥"

[3] Tirumalai Temple Inscription, Text :—

"Śrīman–Mahārājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara-ŚrīVīrapratāpa-ŚrīVīra kṛṣṇadēvarāyalu Pratāparudra Gajapatimiṅdanu daṇḍu-viccēśi Pratāparudra Gajapatini Kōṇḍavīṭi danakānu virugaṃ vōḍici Udayagiri-durga-munnukaikōni tirigi Vijayanagara-rājadhāniki viccēstunnu Tirumalamiṃ[da]ki viccēśi Tiruvērialanāthadēvunni darśiñci Tiruvēṅgalanāthadēvunniki kanakābhiṣēkaṃ cēśina rōkha-varāhālu ga 30,000 ivē akṣarālānu muphai-vēlu............."

(1) Vide the Tirumalai Temple Inscription of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, found in Chandragiri Taluk, Chittur District, Ś. 1436 :— (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV No. 282 ff.)

(2) *Amuktamālyadaṃ.*

(3) Inscription at kommuru in kṛṣhṇa Dt. *A. R.*, No. 824 of 1922.

The genealogical account given in some sanskrit *ślokas* shows that the commentator, Bhīmadeva, was the son of Balabhadradeva, grandson of Dharmadeva, who was born in the line of Śubhaliṅgabhānu. Bhīmadeva begins his commentary with the following verse, a portion of which is eaten away by white ants is the only available manuscript :—

"... ... ... ।
dharādhara-dhararaṃ dhīraṃ
Rādhādhararucaṃ namaḥ ॥
Vīraśrī Bhīmadēvēna
vyākhyān saukhyān = Manōramā ।
vidhīyatē' = vdadūtasya
Khaṇḍa-kāvyasya vistarāt ॥"[1]

In addition to the above eulogies, we get in the commentary some more *ślokas*.

According to the *Pārlākhimuṇḍi Vaṁśāvalī*, Śubhaliṅgabhānu (or Śivaliṅgabhānu) was the founder of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi-line. From the *'Abda-Dūta'* it is clear that the Gaṅgas of Baḍakhimuṇḍi and Sānakhimuṇḍi also belonged to the same line of Śubhaliṅgabhānu. He was not only a great warrior but also a good scholar. He had a brother called Rāmacandra Anaṅgabhīma Keśari. Both the brothers planed to conquer Orissa, since there was anarchy prevailing there after the death of Pratāparudra Gajapati. They brought into their possession a large portion of Orissa towards the north of Khimuṇḍi and established a centre of Government near Khurda Rathipur. But,

[1] Unfortunately, the only manuscript which I collected from Pārlākhimuṇḍi has been destroyed by white ants. Therefore, all the *ślokas* of the manuscript are not complete. The *M. S.* is now preserved in the Manuscript Library of the State Museum of Orissa at Bhubaneswar (Vide No. L155.)

it lasted only for a few months. They devided the kingdom of their forefathers into two halves. The eldest Śubhaliṅga continued to rule from Nagarīkaṭaka while Rāmacandra Anaṅgabhīma Keśari ruled in the tracts of Baḍakhimuṇḍi and Sānakhimuṇḍi. Śivaliṅgabhānu enjoyed the portion of Pārlākhimuṇḍi including Nagarīkaṭaka, Śrīkakulam and also the present Taluk of Guṇpur (in Koraput district). There is a stone inscription found in the Rādhākānta temple at Tekkali where we find the name of one Śuvarṇadeva who may be identified with Śuvarṇaliṅgabhānudeva of this line. This king used the titles of '*Gajapati Gauḍeśvara*' etc., like the Sūryavaṁśi kings of Orissa. In his 9th *Aṅka* year, on the occasion of Vijaya-aṣṭamī (*Daśarā*), he made some grants.[1]

Śivaliṅgabhānu was succeeded by his son Suvarṇa Keśari Gōvindadeva Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva in A. D. 1590. He continued to rule up to 1630. During his time there was an unsuccessful attempt made by the kings of Orissa to conquer the Khimuṇḍi area which at that time extended from the Riṣikulyā river up to Sihṁācalaṃ.

After him, his son, Mukundarudra Gajapati Nārāyṇadeva, ruled the country from 1630 to 1656 A. D. His eldest son, Mukunda Gajapati, ruled from 1656 to 1674 A. D. During his time some boundary disputes started between the kings of Khimuṇḍi and Vizianagaram, and the headquarters of Pārlākhimuṇḍi was transferred from Nagarīkaṭaka to Puruṇāpāṭaṇā.

During the time of this king, the temple of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara was constructed on the bank of the Mahendratanayā, a tributary of the river Vaṁśadhārā.

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[1] The original inscription was read by me and published in the defunct journal "The Ganjam" (Orissa), dated the 24th August, 1927, by the late L. N. Jagadeva of Tekkali.

During the last quarter of the 16th century A. D. the political activities in South Orissa have centred at Kāssimkoṭā and Śrīkākulam which were under the possession of the *Bāhubalendras*, a branch of the family of the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgi. In that family was born the famous Mukundadeva of Orissa. He played a heroic part in different battle-fields against the Mohammedans. Mukundadeva made an alliance with Ākber and fought successfully with the Afgans of Bengal. His army proceeded as far as Gauḍa (or the modern East Pakisthan). He was the last independent Hindu king of Orissa. In his family was born Mukunda Bāhubalendra, who lived at Kāśimkoṭā and fought with the Sultān of Golkonda. In this connection we quote the following account from Feristha :— "Bhaybulundur, the Rājāh of the district of Cossimcota, who regularly sent his tribute every year, died and his son Mukunda Rāj, a boy of twelve years of age, was left as his heir; Mahammed-Kooly-Kootb-Shāh immediately sent letters acknowledging him as successor, and invited him to the capital where he was honoured with a dress of instalment, and returned to his Government; but scarcely had he reached it, when, at the instigation of his relative Vidiadry,[1] he put to death his brother Dewraj[2] and some time after made an attempt to seize the person of Birlas Khān, the king's governor in that country."

This statement proves that Mukundadeva did not like to live as a subordinate king under the Mohammedans. He put to death in a battle at Kāśim-koṭā two Mohammedan Officers, namely Birlas Khān and Ghuzunfur Beg. Ameen-Ool-Moolk pursued him

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[1] Probably, Vidyādhara
Prabably, Devarāja

up to Sridola, lying waste his country. At last, one Aśvarāya,[1] a Hindu Rājā of the south, who was appointed by the Mohammedan rulers as their commander, defeated Mukundadeva, somewhere near Siṁhācalaṃ. Then, Mukundadeva took shelter in Orissa and subsequently resided permanently in that country. As he returned from the south, he was popularly known as "Chālukya Mukundadeva."

Feristha says that "when Mukunda Rāj first opposed the king's authority, Shunder Rāj the nephew, and Hurrychunder (Hariscandra), the brother of Bhāybulunder (Bāhubalendra), were at Hyderabad and proceeded with Ammeen-Ool-Moolk against Mukunda Rāj. Shunkur Rāj (Śaṅkara Rāj) fell in the battle of Rājahmundry.[2]" But, the family dispute between his relatives and Mukundadeva did not last long. They all joined together again to fight with the Mohammedans.

The family of Mukundadeva was closely related to the Gaṅgavaṁśi kings of Khimuṇḍi. Therefore, Mukundadeva could take shelter in Pārlākhimuṇḍi. After Mukundadeva (II), his family remained at Māchamarā and Guṇpur under the protection of the Gaṅga kings of Khimuṇḍi.

Mukunda Rudra was succeeded by his son, Anantapadmanābha Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva who ruled from 1674 to 1686 A. D., and was succeeded by his son, Sarvajña Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva. He ruled

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[1] For Aśvarāya's inscription see *S. I. I.*, Vol. V No. 1260 and for Mukundadeva's defeat see *Ibid*, No. 1313 ff.

[2] This Mukunda Rāj who fought against the Sultān of Hyderabad belong to the *Bāhubalendra* or the Cālukya family of Kāśimkoṭā. One of his copper plate inscriptions, preserved in the Madras Museum, is edited by me in *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. VI, Pt. i, P. 38 ff., where I have discussed in detail about his political activities in the South.

from 1686 to 1702 A. D. During the time of his father, disturbance took place in the country by the Mohammedans. Jagannātha's eighteen sons were killed in a ruse played by the invading army. The surviving two sons organised fresh armies and Narahari Nārāyaṇadeva, the eldest of the two survivors, defeated one Mullick Khān, a commander of the Muslim force, and killed him. The sword used for this purpose was called by the name of *Mullick-mardana-khaṇḍā*. It is still exhibited during the *Pujā* ceremonies in the month of Āśvina. But, the honour of killing the Mohammedan commander is also claimed by the Rājās of Jayapur and Baḍakhimuṇḍi. Rājā Kriṣṇa Deva (1676—81) of Jayapur used the title of "*Mallakimardana*" (vide—*The Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*, P. 265). In the *Gaṅga-vaṃśānucaritaṃ*, while writing the *Praśasti* of Padmanābhadeva (grand-father of Puruṣottama and Anaṅgabhīma and father of Pītāmbaradeva) of the Rāj family of Baḍakhimuṇḍi, Vāsudeva Ratha composed the following *ślokas* describing how he (Padmanābhadeva) killed a commander of the Emperor of Delhi whose name was Mallaki :—

"Yaḥ pārāvāra-vāri-prakara-valayita-
kṣmānta-sāmanta-kōṭī-
rājat kōṭīrakōṭi-maṇi-gaṇa-kiraṇaiḥ'
prāṁśu mūrchhannakhāṁśuḥ ।
Ḍillīśasyāpi tasyākhila=yavana-gatēr=
bhāgadhēyaṃ ninīṣan
sēnānīḥ kaścid=āgād=vahutara-turagō
malla-kīrti-prasiddhaḥ ॥ V. 86.

taṃ matvā dhūmakētuṃ nija-nṛpati-kulō-
ttaṁsa-vidhvaṁsa kētuṃ
svāntē tachhānti-cintāṃ dadhad=avanipatiś=
chhadmanā padmanābhaḥ ।

maitrīm = atrā = śutanvan saparikaram = amuṃ
vēśayan durga-mārgē
vanyair = anyair = agaṇyai saha-paraśukaraiḥ =
Nandapuryyāṃ jaghānā || V. 87.[1]
(Vide the *Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritaṃ,* canto, VIII VV. 86-87)

From this we understand that a commander of the Mughals came to Baḍakhimuṇḍi in the disguise of a horse-seller. Padmanābhadeva, who could suspect his evil-motives killed him at Nandapur (Jayapur) with the help of some aboriginal people. Padmanābhadeva is a contemporary of *Mallakimardana* Krisṇadeva of Jayapur, who was living from 1676 to 1681 A. D. That is the period when *Ālamgir* Aurangzīb was the Emperor of Delhi (1658—1707). It is not known who was that Mughal commander, Mallik. But, it is quite evident that Aurangazīb attempted to capture a portion of the N. Circars, which attempt was spoiled by a combined effort of the rulers of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam districts.

In this connection we may refer to one of the sword-inscriptions of Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, published by Sri L. N. Harichandana Jagadeb, in which the number "120" is incised, According to Sri Jagadeba's interpretation, the number 120, mentioned in it, is the *Gajapati Saṁvat* which *Saṁvat* started from 1679 A. D. Therefore, the date of it is attributed to 1799 A. D. In this connection he further says that "Narahari Nārāyaṇadeva, the Rājā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, once defeated Mullaki Khān of Śrīkākulam. In memory of that victory, a Gajapati-*era* was observed in the Pārlākhimuṇḍi-Rāj-family." The Gajapati-*era* 120, in the time of Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, is equivalent to Śaka 1721 or 1799[2] A. D. It should

[1] The *Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritaṃ*, Ch. VIII, VV. 86-87 f.
[2] *A. H R S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. 4. P. 232

be noted here that Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, who constructed a *Mukhaśālā* in the temple of Nilakhaṇṭheśvara near Puruṇāpāṭaṇā, used the *era* 120 which may be taken as the same *Saṁvat* of the family of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. We shall give the text of this inscription while writing the life-history of Gajapatideva in whose time the inscription was incised.

Vīrapadmanābhadeva ruled from 1729 to 1748 A. D. and his father Naraharideva came to the *Gādi* in *circa* 1702 A. D. This date is not supported by the calculations made by the Rājābāhādur of Tekkali which we referred to previously, as Kriṣṇadeva (1676—81) of Jayapur who entitled himself as " *Mulaki-Mardana* " and Padmanāvadeva of Baḍakhimedi who is described in the *Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritaṃ* as the killer of Mulliki, a commander of the Emperor of Delhi, (Aurangazīb), were living in the time of Narahari Nārāyaṇadeva. We have already stated how Naraharideva took part in some battles fought against the Muslims of the Deccan when he killed a commander named Muliki and how that battle was fought in co-operation with the *Rājās* of Jayapur and Baḍakhimuṇḍi. The Nizām Shāhi rule at Ahmadnagar came to an end in A .D . 1600 when that was captured by the Mughals. After this, one Malik Ambar ruled till 1626. His son, Husain, lived up to A. D. 1632 and Ahamadnagar was annexed to Delhi in 1635. After Malik Ambar, there was no Muslim ruler who possessed the name of Malik or Mulki.

As Malik Ambar died about 50 years before the events referred to above, he is not probably the person who was killed by these Rājās. In the

Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritaṃ, it is clearly mentioned that he came from the court of the Emperor of Delhi. Aurangzib was the emperor of Delhi at that time. He was destroying the Hindu temples. At that time Śivāji, the great Maharātta king, allied with Abul Hāsan of the Golkonda-Kutb Shahi family; and marched intent on the conquest of the Carnatic, in difiance of the Mughal Emperor. In A. D. 1679, the war between the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzib, and the Maharāttas continued. During these years of conflict in the history of the Deccan, a Mughal commander named Malik was probably killed by some Rājās headed by Narahari Nārāyaṇadeva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi as stated before.

After Narahari Nārāyaṇadeva, his eldest son Vīra Padmanābha Nārāyaṇadeva ruled from 1729 to 1748 A. D. He had no issues and was succeeded by his brother, Pratāparudra Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, who was a great scholar.[1] He ruled from 1748 to 1766 A. D. During the time of his predecessors, the mineral sources of the country were explored. The tracts of iron smelting works are still to be marked near Siṅgi-puram, a village not far from Puruṇāpāṭaṇā or Pathapatnam. There are traces of minerals, being worked out on an extensive scale, the remnants of which are still traceable at the foot of a hill at Siṅgipuram. There are also traces of ruined buildings in the same site. The resources of the country were

[1] Padmanābha is also a patron of scholars and poets. One Kavirāja Harikṛiṣṇā Purohita who wrote the *Rādhāvilāsa Mahākāvyaṃ* says that his father, Nārāyaṇa, received the title of *Sāmantarāya* from the King Nārāyaṇadeva. The verse is quoted below :—

"Śrīnārāyaṇadēva-śēkharā-maṇēḥ
Sāmantarāyaṃ padaṃ |
vibhrad=vyākaraṇā=rtha vin=matimatāṃ
vādēna Nārāyaṇaḥ ||"

above the par and the people were prosperous. The site of the present village of Pātapāṭṇām was situated on a slight eminence, but the suburbs of the city in the Siṅgipuram and Gopālapuram areas were accessible to submergence at the time of heavy inundation in the Mahēndratanayā.

During the time of Pratāparudra Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, the Maharāttās, the Piṇḍrāies and the Jats created lot of troubles in this area. They used to plunder villages and towns indiscriminately. The situation of Pathapatnam was not in a safer position to resist the attacks of the Maharāttās, the Piṇḍāris and the Jats. So, the capital was shifted to a more convenient place near the present Railway Station of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. The neighbouring Bhoi-sāhi (Boyā) hill and the Hātibāḍi areas were used as sheltering places for the unfortunate towns people who were troubled by the Maharāttā and Piṇḍāri plunderers too frequently. A place called Māchakaṇṭā on the Bhoi-sāhi hill had a watch and ward set up with a drum by beating of which, timely warning could be heard of any approach of the Maharāttā and Piṇḍāri aggressors. Several people could seek protection at the place on the Bhoi-sāhi hill at the Māchakaṇṭā out-post, while the able bodied remained behind to defend their own herth and home. This was the reason why the capital was shifted and ever since the seat of the Government remained there only.

CHAPTER IX

[The History of Pārlākhimuṇḍi-Rāj]

DIFFERENT scholars have published the genealogical table of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi-family as gathered from different sources and from different palm-leaf manuscripts.* For example, Mr. Robert Sewell has given a list in the *Archaeological Survey of South India*, Vol. II, Pages 185-6, published in 1884. He gathered the information from the then Collector of Ganjam, Mr. C. F. Mecarties, who seems to have got the information from the palace records at Pārlākhimuṇḍi and gave the list to Mr. Sewell, thinking that was an authentic record. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao of Vijayanagaram published another genealogical list in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, Nos. 3 & 4, PP. 250—8 ff. The third genealogical list was collected by the late Simhadri Paricha of Pārlākhimuṇḍi who published the same in the *Kaliṅga-Sañchikā* (Telugu), published by the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. From a careful study of these three different sources of collection of the pedigree of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi-Rāj-Family, we presume that the original pedigree documents might have been lost and these lists were only prepared at some latter date for which reason there are variations in the reigning periods of the kings.

Regarding the chronological account of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi-House, beginning from the king Vīra Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇa Deva (A. D. 1748—66) onwards, the list, given by Mr. Sewell, needs revision. Because, according to his list, Padmanābha N. Deva's son, Pratāparudra N. Deva, ruled the country from

* Vide the list given in the previous Chapter

A. D. 1748 to A. D. 1766. But, the same author (Mr. Sewell), while writing about seven copperplate inscriptions, discoverd from the old Ganjam District (Śrīkākulam Taluk), says that one of the seven grants belongs to Pratāparudra N. Deva (of Pārlākhimuṇḍi) who granted some lands in favour of the temple of Jagannātha, situated in the village of Bālagā in the Śrīkākulam Taluk. This grant was issued in A. D. 1728.[1] So, how can we conclude that he came to the *Gādi* in A. D. 1748, twenty years after the date of the above grant ?

An old palm-leaf manuscript, written by one Chaitanya Rājaguru about two hundred and fifty years back, discloses that Pratāparudra N. Deva had no sons. So, he adopted his cousin, Jogi Deva's son, Jagannātha N. Deva, who came to the throne at the age of eighteen and in the cyclic year Prabhava*. He issued a grant at Campāpur village to some Brāhmaṇas in the *Fussli* year 1153 which corresponds to A. D. 1743. Thus, Sewell's list is not correct so far as the reigning period of Pratāparudra N. Deva is concerned.

From the said note-book of Chaitanya Rājaguru, we get the following list of villages granted by Pratāparudra N. Deva and his adopted son, Jagannātha N. Deva, in Pārlākhimuṇḍi :—

(1) Grants made by Pratāparudra N. Deva

	Name of village	Fussli year	A. D.
1.	Gopālapura	1133	1724
2.	Aṅgārasiṅgi	1133	1724

[1] Rangacharya's *A Topographical list of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, P. 682, No. 138 A. G.

* From the *Saṅgita-nārāyaṇa* we find that he was the son of Padmanābhadeva, the elder brother of Pratāparudra. We will try to explain this anomaly later on.

	Name of village	Fussli year	A. D.
3.	Paḍhimānya	1136	1727
4.	Sītāpura	1136	1727
5.	Dāsapura	1137	1728
6.	Gurāṇḍi	1147	1738

The title *Nārāyaṇadeva* was regularly used in this family after Sarvajña Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva. It is curious to note here that the same title was used by a line of kings who had matrimonial relationship with the kings of Nepal in the 16th or 17th Century A. D. In the Kāṭamāṇḍu (Nepāl) inscription of Pratāpa *alias* Jayapratāpamalladeva * (A. D. 1649) we find that he married Rūpamati whose brother is Prāṇa Nārāyana, father is Vīra Nārāyaṇa, grand father is Lakshmī Nārāyaṇa and great-grand-father is Nārāyaṇa. Their Capital was at Vihāra-nagarī.

(2) Grants made by Jagannātha N. Deva

	Name of village	Fussli year	A. D.
7.	Jharipadara	1160	1751
8.	Rautapura	1160	1751
9.	Polasarā	1161	1752
10.	Campāpur	1162	1753
11.	Kathalakaiṭhā	1165	1756
12.	Kodaṇḍapura	1165	1756
13.	Murkuṇḍipadara	1170	1762

The earliest known grants of Pratāparudra N. Deva are the villages of Aṅgārasiṅgi and Gopālapura, issued in A. D. 1724; and his last known grant is Śāsana Gurāṇḍi, made in A. D. 1738. His successor Jagannātha N. Deva's earliest known grants are Rāutapura and Jharipadara, issued in A. D. 1751.

* *I. A.*, Vol. IX, P. 188

Jagannātha N. Deva granted a village called Māraḍikoṭā in his 24th *Aṅka* Year and in the cyclic year Khara. According to the system of *Aṅka* reckoning at Pārlākhimuṇḍi, the 1st, 6th, 10th, 16th, 20th, 26th, 30th, 36th, 40th, 46th, 50th years are to be omitted. Thus, Jagannātha N. Deva's 24th *Aṅka* will be equal to his 19th regnal year which must fall in the cyclic year Khara. Since the year Khara falls in A. D. 1770-71, we have to infer that the date of his accession should be 19 years before this date, *i. e.*, A. D. 1751-1752, when the cyclic year was Śrīmukha.

It is stated in the family records that Jagannātha N. Deva came to the *gādi* at the age of eighteen. According to the above calculation, if his first regnal year is A. D. 1751-52, then he should have been born in A. D. 1633-34. But, from the old note book of Chaitanya Rājaguru, we get a horoscope of the king where it is stated that in the 27th *Aṅka* year of Pratāparudra N. Deva, Jagannātha N. Deva was born in the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa which corresponds to A. D. 1730. For a detailed study of the actual date of his birth, we give below the horoscope :—

"Śrī Pratāparudradevaṅkara vijē śubharājyē samasta 27 saptāviṁśati Aṅkē Śrāhi Kaliṅga-rājyaṃ prati sādhāraṇanāma samvatsarē 44 raveḥ vṛṣa-pravēśād= ārabhya navama-divasē cāndramānē Jyēṣṭha-śukla-2yā guru-vāsarē sūryyōdayāt ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-ghaṭikō=pari 56-18 liptāyāṃ tatsamayē mēṣalagnē bhauma-kshētre ravi-horāyāṃ.........ētasmin śubha-muhūrttē śrīmat Śrī Yōgīdēuṅka mahatō putra janma-nakṣatra Mṛgaśirā; Mithuna-rāśi."

From the above it is quite clear that he (Jagannātha N. Deva) was born in the year Sādhāraṇa

corresponding to A. D. 1730 when the 27th regnal year of Pratāparudra N. Deva was current. So, Pratāparudra N. Deva came to the throne in A. D. 1709. But, according to Sewell's list, he started his reign in A. D. 1748.

Pratāparudra N. Deva was the first king in this family who embraced Vaiṣṇavism of the Rāmānuja School. He was a devout worshipper of Rāmasvāmi who was the family deity, installed in the premises of his palace. He endowed the kingdom to his family-god (Rāmasvāmi) for which reason the god's presence was necessary in each and every ceremonial function. He also excavated four big tanks in the names of his family deities, *viz.*, Rāma-sāgara, Sītā-sāgara, Bharata-sāgar and Lakṣmaṇa-sāgara. These tanks are still used in irrigation purpose.

Pratāparudra N. Deva built some temples as his *gurupīṭha*, *viz.*, Sadārāma-temple in the Pārlākhimuṇḍi town and the Bālāji temple in Chāṅguḍi *agrahāra*. For the benefit of the latter temple, he granted a village called Tiḍḍimi. A copperplate grant, edited by the late L. N. Jagadeva of Tekkali in *The Āsantākāli* (Oriya Monthly Journal, Calcutta, of Feb. 1953, PP. 9-10 ff.), shows that the village of Tiḍḍimi in Gaḍḍā *Muṭhā* was granted to the *Mahanta* Nārāyaṇa Dāsa in the 21st *Aṅka* Year of Pratāparudra N. Deva and in the cyclic year Plavaṅga and in the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Jyeṣṭha and in the 5th day of the solar month Vṛṣa, for the *Amṛitamuṇohi* of the god Bālāji at Chāṅguḍi. Sri L. N. Jagadeva says that it was granted in A. D. 1732.

Many renowned poets lived under the patronage of Pratāparudra N. Deva. A poet named Gadādhara

Tripāṭhi (of the *Rājaguru* family)* composed the following panegyric in praise of his patron king :—

" Hē Pratāpa Mahāvīra,
īdṛśastē karōdayaḥ ।
karttṛ - karma - kriyā - guptiḥ
kavir = āha Gadādharaḥ ॥"

Another poet of the same family named Madhu Tripāṭhi flourished in his (Pratāparudra's) court. He composed some beautiful verses; a specimen of which is quoted below :—

"Vālā nandati yatra pātra-padavīṃ
śiṣṭair = atiṣṭair = alaṃ
puṁbhyaś = cēd = upapadyatē ratikalā
kv = ēṇī-dṛśām = ādarāḥ ।
viśrāntā yadi jāṅgalīṣu kavitā
gīrvāṇa-vāṇī vṛthā
bhūpālē yavanē samastam = avanēr =
vaidagdhyam = astaṃ gataṃ ॥"

The purport of the above verse is given below :— Everything in the civilization will spoil if young children were promoted to the post of ministry eliminating the (old) nobles (*S'iṣṭhas*) ; if the male folk will select males to satisfy their sexual functions neglecting the natural feminine love; if the poetic glory will go to the aboriginals paying no attention to the (sound) advises of scholars; and if the whole of the world will be ruled by the *Yavanas* (the Muhamadans).

This verse also gives a hint that there was some clash between the Hindus and the Mohammedans throughout the country.

* We are not able to trace his position in the genealogical table of the *Rājaguru* family which is given elsewhere.

The poet, Madhu Tripāṭhi, used to write some secret letters to some War-Commanders in battle fields, in beautiful Sanskrit verses, a specimen of which is quoted below :—

" haridrāyāṃ rāhu prasarati
hitēchā pariṣadi
prayuktālaṃkṛtyau
viyuta gurutā durga Kujarīṃ[1]
vayaṃ sārkānyētāḥ
praharati ca sēnāpati-kṛtān=
amātyēbhyō lēkhān
prathayatihi Siṁhaḥ kṣitipatiḥ ||"[2]

From a torn leaf of the note book of Chaitanya Rājaguru, we gather the following entries in Oriya which prove that in the time of Pratāparudradeva there was a continuous fight going on against some neighbouring Zamindars:—

"Pālora-rāṣṭrasya...........
Pūrvāṣāḍhā-nakṣatra pravēśa-nakṣatra hēlā
tahiṁre candra thivāku sēhi thi...........
Mahuri-rājyaru Pālora-rājyaku
anukula kalē , ēthirē..............
Vēgama Āmnivēga,
Sumāṇḍi-gaḍanā' Āmni-nagara ||"

There are a few more entries in that torn leaf of the manuscript which gives an idea that in those days, the kings generally consulted for auspicious moments, according to astronomical calculations, while starting for any conquest or entering into warfares. We quote the remaining entries hereunder, read from different folia of the said note-book :—

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[1] A village called Kuñjari is situated about four miles to the north-west of Kuhuri Ry. Station in the Puri District.

[2] The meaning of this verse is not clear

(1) "......Kōṭē madhya krūra-graha yadi......ityā...... śubha । Bāhyē bōilē śubha-graha-Vṛhaspati-nakṣa-trarē bāhārē achanti । Tathā kōṭē bōilē śubha-graha na 12 kṣetrarē thivāku madhyē krūra-graha Maṅgala na 23 kṣetrarē thivāku gaḍarē thilē yēuṁ mānē gaḍādhipaku se(sa)mpidēlē । durgaku madhya."

(2) "Pālora-rāṣṭrasya tatkālikarē Ravi Rēvatire thilāku sē madhyē pravēśa-nakṣatra hēlā । Āgama nigama kṣētra hēbāku Pālora Rājēndra āsilā ।"

(3) "Pālora-rāṣṭra Rāmanagara-durgasya । Viśēṣataḥ Vṛhaspati brāhmaṇa-graha hēbāku brāhmaṇa yē Rājaguru jāi jaya kalē ।"

(4) "Punarvasu nakṣatrarē Vṛhaspati thivāku Vāyavya-kōṇarē pravēśa-kṣētrarē pravēśa hēlē ॥"

From these entries we come to know that a king of Pārlākhimuṇḍi invaded the Zamindaries of Mohiri and Pālur. He also attacked the forts of Mohiri and Rāmanagara or Pālur of the present Ganjam District. From historical evidence, we find that Khallikōṭa and its surrounding tracts were used as the Mohammedan out-posts under Golkoṇḍa since the time of Mukundadeva in the latter part of the 16th century A. D.* This was also the time when there was struggle going on between the Hindu kings and the aggresive power of the Mohammedans. Before the advent of the Maharāṭṭas in Orissa, some Hindu Zamindars created trouble in South Orissa. Most probably, the above entries are the remnants of evidence relating to some forgotten battles fought against the Mohammedan Governors of Golkoṇḍa in the northern parts of Ganjam by the then kings of

* *O. H. R. J.*, Vol. VI, Pt. I

Pārlākhimuṇḍi who took active parts in these battles. The repeated attack of the Hindu Kings weakened the Mohammedan power in Ganjam as well as in Orissa to such an extent that it became too easy for the Maharāṭṭas to capture the entire Province of Orissa from the hands of Alivardi Khān. In A. D. 1751, a treaty was concluded between him (Alivardi Khān) and the Maharāṭṭas, according to which, a portion of Orissa, extending from the coast of Balasore to the Cilka lake, was assigned to the Maharāṭṭas. But, soon after this treaty, the Maharāṭṭas established their fiscal right over Orissa, and acquired full political sovereignty. The change that took place in the political sphere of Orissa is set forth in the following report of the Select Committee of Calcutta on the 11th December, 1761 : —

"It is about 12 years since the Nawab of Bengal gave the Maharāṭṭas an assignment upon the Kaṭaka Province for receiving an annual stipulated sum on account of "*Chauth*". The Maharāṭṭas, under pretence of collecting their share usurped by degrees the entire possession of the province, and not content with that, still continued to harass the neighbouring parts of Bengal.........".

(Vide Long, *Selections*, I, No. 572).

Mir Qasim, the only strong Nawab after Alivardi, clung to his theoretical sovereignty over Orissa. He made a spurious claim by writing the following letter to the English on the 10th of March, 1761* :—

* In the same year (1761 A. D.), Sitārām Rāj of Vizianagaram attacked Pārlākhimuṇḍi and the Maharāṭṭas joined with the defending force of Khimuṇḍi at Śrikākulam. But, they all sufferd a defeat in the hands of Sitārām Rāj. (Vide *the Viśvakoṣa* (Bengali), Vol. XVIII, P. 514.) Thereafter, Sitārām subdued all the Zamindars of the south as far as Rajahmundry.

"It is unjust that the Maharāṭṭas should receive the whole revenues of Kaṭaka" (Vide *The Calander of Persian Correspondence*, I, No. 1006)

During these days of conflict between the Mohammedans and the Maharāṭṭas relating to Orissa, Jagannātha Nārāyan Deva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi made an attempt to re-establish the Hindu sovereignty in the holy country of Jagannātha which he considered to be a pious duty of his life. Therefore, it is quite probable that the entries made in the old palm-leaf manuscript of Caitanya Rājaguru, referred to above, are nothing but a descriptive account of the war of Jagannātha N. Deva, against some disruptive powers.

RĀJĀ JAGANNĀTHA NĀRĀYAṆA DEVA
(A. D. 1751—1770)

Jagannātha N. Deva succeeded Pratāparudra N. Deva in A. D. 1751. He was a very powerful king in the family of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi House. Not only that he was a great warrior and a diplomat but also a poet, a musician and a follower of *Vaiṣṇavism* of the Chaitanya School. He lived in a critical period when there was keen contest for power among the Maharāṭṭas, the French and the English in this part of the country, and when ultimately the victory turned to the side of the English. During that period, Jagannātha N. Deva tried to regain the past glory of the Gajapati Kings of his family who had once enjoyed the status of suzerainty over the whole of Kaliṅga country including Utkala. He also attempted to save the sacred temple of the Lord Jagannātha at Puri from atrocious action by some Non-Hindus.

He found that Vīrakiśoradeva of Khurdā, who belonged to the Bhoi dynasty, was only a puppet king in the hands of the greedy Maharāṭṭas. So, he collected a large army and attacked Khurdā in the middle of the 18th century. It caused terror in the minds of the Maharāṭṭas who helped Vīrakiśoradeva on condition that he should bear the whole cost of the war. In the Persian Correspondence his name has been mentioned as 'Nārāyaṇa Deva'.

With reference to the *Imperial Records Department, Calander, (The Calander of Persian Correspondence, Calcutta*, 1911, Vol. I, 1759—67, P. 52, Nos. 579 & 583; P. 44, Nos. 707-08; P. 48, No. 762); the late R. D. Banerji gives, in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, PP. 122—25 ff., some accounts with regard to the activities of the *rājā* Nārāyaṇa Deo[1] of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. The above correspondence took place between the East India Company and Nārāyaṇa Deva *alias* Jagannātha N. Deva in the year 1761, when he (Nārāyaṇa Deva) waged a war against Vīrakiśora Deva of Khurdā, who sought for the help of the Maharāṭṭas.

We find some details in the accounts of Sterling, as quoted below :—

"The first and most energetic of the Maharāṭṭa *Subādārs* was Sahoo Bhaṭ Sāntia,[2] who exercised a disputed and precarious authority for a period of about eight years, from 1163 to 1171 (of the Amli Year which correspond to A. D. 1756—1764), and may be said to have been in full possession of the powers of Government for about half of that period.

[1] The abbreviated name, Nārāyaṇa Deva for Jagannātha N. Deva, as given in the old records, is rectified neither by R. D. Banerji nor by Dr. Mahatab in their *History of Orissa*.

[2] Read Śiva Bhaṭṭa Sāmanta

He made a settlment of revenues of the province, nominally at 18,00,000 of the Arcot Rupees, of which 14,00,000 was entered as regular land revenue (Bandobasti Mulk), and the remaining 4,00,000 as imposts under various heads. During his administration, a farther dismemberment took place of the territories of the *Mahārājas* of Khurdā. In 1167, *i. e.*, A. D. 1760, Nayan Deo, the famous Zamindar of Kimeḍi[1], a descendant of the royal family of Orissa, who had asserted before his preferable little *Khurdā Rāj,* invaded that district by way of Bāṇpur, with the avowed intention of taking possession of it, and drove the reigning prince Bīr Kishore Deo (Vīrakiśoradeva) before him. Unable to resist his powerful rival, the later was thrown upon the dangerous expedient of clinging to the assistance of the Maharāṭṭas, which was granted on condition of the payment of a large sum, to defray all expenses, in return. The aid of the *Subādār* proved effectual in clearing Khurdā of the pretender's army, but the *Rājā* being unable to discharge the money bargained for, he was obliged to mortgage or surrender temporarily, for its liquidation, the best portion of his dominions, *viz* : the *Mahāls* Limbāi, Rāhaṅg, Purṣottem Chatter[2], and c.—in short, the whole country lying between the river Dayā, the lake and the sea, with the tribute of the fourteen *Rājās* and *Khaṇḍāits* of the hills, still subject to his control. The Maharāṭṭas were allowed to appoint their own *Amins* and having

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[1] Mr. Grant, in his *Political Essay*, writes :— "Kimeḍi, fifty miles N. E. by N. from the town of Chicacole, is the capital of another authority but more accessible dependent principality, vested in a *Rājā* of the royal family of Orissa, who actually bears the titular designation of that ancient house under the proper name of Gajapati Deo, through the refractory imprudence of Nārāiṇ Deo, father of the present occupant, in opposing the Company's authority."

[2] The correct name is *Puruṣottama Kṣetra*

thus gained a footing in the tracts in question, they never afterwards relinquished possession......"[1].

In this connection Dr. Mahatab writes in his '*History of Orissa*' *(Oriya)*, at P. 254, that in the year 1764, Nārāyaṇadeva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi lead an expedition against Vīrakishordeb of Khurdā; and at Pages 277 and 278, he writes that about the year 1760 A. D. Nārāyaṇadeva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi attempted to join with the French at Balasore; but he was defeated by Sītārām Rāju of Vijayanagram. In Page 278 he again says that Nārāyaṇadeva, the *Rājā* of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, obtained a *sanad* from Nizām Āli and declared himself free from the control of the East India Company.[2]

From a reliable source, *i. e.*, the old palm-leaf manuscript, we gather a true picture regarding Jagannātha N. Deva's invasion of Khurdā. It is mentioned there that he, first of all, attacked the fort of Bāṇapur, wherefrom he sent a messenger to Vīrakiśoradeva requesting him to join his hands with him to crush the Maharāṭṭas and also the advancing European powers in Orissa. Vīrakiśora refused to agree to that suggestion. So, he marched his army against him towards Khurdā and easily took possession of that fort. After this, Vīrakiśoradeva took shelter at Cuttack under the protection of the Maharāṭṭas whose soldiers marched against him (Jagannātha N. Deva). A battle was fought near the fort of

[1] *An Account of Geographical, statistical and Historical of Orissa proper or Cuttack* by A. Sterling, PP. 91-92 ff.

A true copy of the *Mādalā-Pāñji* (Text) about the *Raja* of Kimeḍi (Pārlākhemuṇḍi) is found in the *Gadya-Padyadarśa*, published by the *Prachee-Samiti* of Cuttack. There, it is stated that Vīrakiśoradeva of Khurdā was defeated by Nārāyaṇadeva. So, the full name of the king (Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva) is missing in all the old records.

Chatragaḍa in the modern Puri District. In that battle, Jagannātha N. Deva was defeated and retreated.

Taking advantage of the king's absence from the headquarters, Sītārāma Rāju and his brother, Vijaya Rāma Rāju of Vijayanagaram, in the year 1761, seized by force the estate of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, "while later, it is said, they even possessed themselves temporarily of the Rājahmuṇḍry Sircar. When the English came into possession of the country they persuaded the brothers to relinquish Pārlākhimuṇḍi."[1]

It is here necessary to describe the then prevailing political condition of the Deccan. We quote the following from the *Ganjam District Manual*, Page 80 :—

"About 1571, Ibrāhīm, the fourth monarch of the Kutb Shāhi line, took advantage of the uncertain rule in Orissa, and made himself master of the Godavari and other Districts as far north as Chicacole (Srikakulam). For about hundred and eight years the Ganjam District, which, including the Icchapur Province, then known by the name of the '*Chicacole Circar*' was controlled either more or less directly by Mussalman authority from Hyderabad.

The principal seat of the government was at Chicacole, where the *Faujdār* or deputy of the *Subah* resided, whilst a Sub-Governor or *Nāib* resided at Icchapur. The revenues of the country were collected by these two Mussalman officials, as best they could, and remitted to the seat of Government at Hyderabad."

In the year 1641, Abdulla Kutb Shāh sent Shir Mahomed Khān, (who built a fine mosque or *Musjid* at Chicacole) to rule over the maritime dependencies

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[1] The *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*, P. 46 ff.

 north of the Krisṇā river. With the exception of a few mosques, however, nothing now remains in the country to mark this time and the Mussalman population is probably smaller than in any other district in the Madras Presidency. In 1687, the Kutb Shāhi kingdom came to an end with Hussein, when the great Mughal Emperor, Aurangzib as *Ālamgir*, asserted his authority in the Deccan, and established the Government of the country on a firmer footing.

In 1707, upon the death of Aurangzib, the Mughal Empire may be said to have broken up and another period of anarchy followed, during which time the Maharāṭṭas rose rapidly in power. Finding no one in Central India to oppose them, they soon overran the country from west to east, establishing themselves in the province of Orissa, north of Ganjam, about 1740. In the meanwhile, the district of Icchapur in the Chicacole Circar continued to be administered by the Mussalman *Faujdārs* at Chicacole with the assistance of their *Nāibs* at Icchapur.

In 1713, Asaf Jāh, who took the surname of Nizām-ul-Mulk, was nominated *Subāhdār* of the Deccan by the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, and he appointed one Anwar-ud-din Khān to be his *Faujdār* at Chicacole in 1726. This man, subsequently better known as the Nawab of Carnatic, ably administered the country for a period of fifteen years.

The following extract gives the names of the Mussalman Rulers between 1726, the time of Asaf Jāh, Nizām-ul-mulk of the Deccan, and the cession of the Chicacole Circar to the French in 1758 :— "Anaverdy Khān, father to the present Nawab, was appointed a *Nāib* by Nizām-ul-mulk and managed

the Chicacole country from *Fasli* 1136 or A. D. 1726 to the (*Fasli*) year 1150, when he was succeeded by Jaffer Āli Khān who continued as *Nāib* to the (*Fasli*) year 1155, and then was supplanted by Ebadullah Khān. He continued in power till 1159, when Jaffer Āli having made interest at the Durbar, Ebadullah was deposed by an order from Nazir Jung and Jaffer Āli again restored to his station. The Northern Circars being granted to the French in the (*Fasli*) year 1163 (1753 A. D.), Jāffer Āli retired to Hyderabad, and Viziarām Rāz (*Rājā* of Vizianagaram) was appointed by Mr. Bussy to the management of Chicacole. He continued till the latter end of *Fasli* 1163 and was succeeded by Ibrāhim Gaudy (Ibrāhim Khān Gadidi).

Ibrāhim Gaudy being accused of ill-management and having neglected to make remittances of the Circar-rents, in (*Fasli*) 1166, Mr. Bussy marched with the troops he brought with him from the Deccan, in order to call him to an account for the arrears due to the Company, and he being unable to satisfy the demands made by the French, and being alarmed at the approach of their army, fled to Cuttack and from thence went to Hyderabad and joined the present *Subāhdār*, Nizam-ud-Doulah, who at that time began to have pre-eminence over his brother, Salabat Jung. Anāverdy Āli Khān was by Mr. Bussy nominated successor to Ibrāhim Gaudy, and remained one year in the station of *Nāib*, when the power and influence of the French in Indostaon (Hindusthān) beginning to decline, he and all their adherents were expelled from the *Circar* by Gajapati Rāz, nephew of Viziārām Rāz, who acted as *Nāib* in the year 1163 (1753).

122 In 1752, the struggle for pre-eminence between the French and the English in India was at its height. Muzuffer Jung, the *Subādār* of the Deccan, had been slain in an affray whilst on his way to take possession of Golkoṇḍa, and with the assistance of the able and intrepid Comte De Bussy who commanded the *Subādār's* French escort. Salabat Jung, third son of Āsaf Jāh, was proclaimed his successor. Out of gratitude for the services that the French had rendered not only to himself but his predecessor, Salabat Jung confirmed all the honours and privileges previously granted to Monsieur Dupleix, the distinguished Governor of Pondicherry. He also assigned to the French, with the other districts of the Northern Circars, the Chicacole Circar, for the pay and equipment of the French auxiliaries in service. The French accordingly established themselves firmly in their capital at Masulipatam, at that time the strongest fortress and the most important place in the Northern Circars, and under De Bussy's instructions Monsieur Moracin lost no time in taking formal possession of the ceded territory.

The Chicacole Circar still continued, however, to be administered by a Mussalman *Faujdār* subject to the authority of the French. In 1757 the collections from Chicacole became so slack and uncertain in consequence of the incapacity of Ibrāhim Khān, the *Faujdār* at Chicacole, that Monsieur De Bussy resolved to go thither in person, and settle the country, the independent chiefs of the province, with their family feuds and internal usurpations, having thrown everything in disorder. Surajah Dowlah, the Nawāb of Bengal, had at the same time invited

the French to co-operate with him against the English in Bengal where the latter were threatening French settlement of Chandernagore. It became, therefore, part of De Bussy's designs to watch the course of events in Bengal, and be at hand if possible to assist the Nawab against their common enemy.

De Bussy accordingly proceeded northwards, and his forces were joined by Viziāram Rāj, the *Rājā* of Vizianagram, and other Chiefs with an army of 10000 men. He unfortunately permitted himself to be drawn into Viziāram Rāj's quarrels with a neighbouring *Rājā*, and through his persuasion the French troops were allowed to assist in attacking the fort of Bobbili in the Vizagapatam district. The tragic termination or the assault is a well-known subject in the Northern Circars. The *Rājā* and his adherents massacred their wives and children rather than allow them to fall into the hands of hateful enemies, and then fell themselves bravely fighting against their foes. Vengeance, however, pursued Viziarām Rāz, the instigator of this murderous attack. An adherent of the *Rājā* of Bobbili killed him at the expense of his own life whilst he was sleeping in his tent. He was succeeded by his son, Ānanda Rāz, who afterwards became the worst enemy of the French in the Chicacole Circar.

Monsieur De Bussy, deeply regretting the part that he had permitted his troops to take in the assault upon Bobbili, hastened to quit that part of the country. He first, however, placed a garrison at Vizagapatam and then proceeded into the Ganjam district along the line of hills to the North. The Zamindars of the district, terrified by the fate of the *Rājā* of Bobbili, hastened to pay up their arrears of tribute,

and it was not until the arrival of the French upon the borders of Goomsur that they met with any opposition. Here, however, the *Rājā* of Goomsur thinking himself secure in his fastnesses amidst the jungle, refused to pay the tribute claimed by the French, and Orme thus describes the difficulties with which the collection was attended.

Jagannātha N. Deo seems to have joined hands with the French against the English and their alley, Sitārāmrāju of Vijayanagaram. In this connection Dr. Lankasundaram quotes the following from a contemporary record :—

Meanwhile (1763 A. D.), Sitārāmrāju had successfully subdued the insurrection of Nārāyaṇa Deo, *Rājā* of Kimiḍi, who had lately shown an inclination to join the French at Balasore, notwithstanhing the fact that on a former occasion he had been responsible for compelling Moracin to flee from the Ganjam district[1].

Dr. Sundaram remarks that "Sitārāmrāju's influence reached its zenith with the reduction of Nārāyaṇa Deo"[2].

Mr. Cotsford proceeded first to Vizagapatam and then to Ganjam in 1767 A. D. North Vizagapatam was in a very disturbed state. According to his report, Nārāyaṇa Deo (Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva), the Zamindar of Pārlākhimuṇḍi the largest and most important Zamindari in Ganjam, had possessed himself of the country and refused to submit to the authority of the English, intercepting all communications between the provinces of Bengal

[1] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, Pt. 2, P. 100 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 101 ff

and Madras. In the interim between the departure of the French in 1759 and the arrival of the English in 1767, the country had been administered by Sitārāmarāj of Vizianagaram whose ambitious designs kept it in a constant state of disturbance.

In the year 1768, Cl. Peach was sent to give a fight with Nārāyaṇa Deo of Kimeḍi. A pitched battle was fought near the Jelmur fort, where Jagannātha N. Deo was defeated.

The subsequent history of Vizagapatam settlement—its seizure from the French by the *Rājā* of Vizianagaram in 1758, the expulsion of that nation from the Circars by Colonel Forde's expedition in the next year, the eventual cession of the country to the English in 1765, and the elevation of Vizagapatam from the position of an isolated factory to that of the capital of a district in 1769—all these events have been shortly sketched in a report.

The twelve years of anarchy which followed Bussy's departure had enabled the *Rājā* of Vizianagaram to make himself more powerful than ever, and he was the most prominent person in that territory. The *Rājā*, Ānanda Rāzu, who had accompanied Forde's expedition, died of small-pox at Rājahmundry shortly afterwards, (1769). He had no son and the widow of his predecessor, Viziarāmarāzu, adopted Venkaṭapatirāzu, a boy of twelve and the second son of her husband's cousin, Rāmabhadrarāzu, and caused him to assume the name of Viziarāmarāzu by which he was afterwards so well-known. The lad had a half-brother, considerably older than himself, named Sītārāmarāzu, who (though the adoption of an eldest son is discouraged by Hindu law) cherished considerable resentment because of his apparent

supersession. Owing to the new *Rājā's* minority, all authority in the state fell naturally into Sītārāma's hands and for very many years he succeeded in maintaining the position of superiority over his younger brother thus accorded him.

The two brothers were very powerful. They controlled almost all of the district except the Havili lands round about Vizagapatam, Kāsimkoṭā and Chicacole in 1761. They also seized by force much of the estate of Pārlākhimuṇḍi in Ganjam: while later, it is said, they even possessed themselves temporarily of the Rājahmundry Circar. When the English came into the possession of the country, they persuaded the brothers to relinquish Pārlākhimuṇḍi and settle a *Peshkash* of three lakhs anually on the rest of their estate. This latter included the indefinite rights in Jayapore, referred to on Page 266 of the *District Gazetteer*, Vizagapatam.

Soon afterwards, the various Zamindars formed a strong confederacy to throw of the Vizianagaram yoke. Sītārāma Rāzu, however, was equal to the occasion. He persuaded the chief and council, says Mr. Carmichael in his *District Manual* of Vizagapatam, to regard this as a challenge to their newly constituted authority, and with the aid of the Company's troops, he readily defeated the insurgents, one after the other. At the close of the campaign, all the Zamindars in the district but Āṇḍrā and Pālkoṇḍā, who had both kept aloof from the malcontents, were dispossessed and their patrimony went to swell the rental of Vizianagaram. The more considerable chiefs were admitted to "*Towjees*" or stipends; while men of less note or who were objects of special resentment, were kept in fetters in the dungeons of

the fort at Vizianagaram. The manner in which the Jayapore fort was captured about this time by the combined forces of the Company and Sītārāma is recounted on Page 267 of the same work.

From the local records, it seems that there were two or three battles fought between Sītārāma Rāz of Vizianagaram and Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. The latter appointed one, Kūrmanātha Pātra of Pārlākhimuṇḍi to conduct the war against Sītārāma Rāz which took place near the fort of Jelmur. The contemporary poet, Caitanya Rājaguru, wrote the following verse in Sanskrit in praise of the *Commander-in-Chief* of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi force, Kūrmanātha Pātra, who is designated as *Saciva* or the Minister of War. The *ślokas* are quoted below :—

Rāja-Śrī-Kūrmanāthā = bhidha-saciva-
jagannātha-nārāyaṇākhya
Śrī-dēva-śrīmukhā = jñā-hata-sakala-ripōr =
prāpta-pūrṇṇēndu-kīrttiḥ ।
Śrīrāmasvāminasya = caraṇa-kamalay-ōr =
jātaviśvāsa hētōḥ
Śrī-Sītārāmarājaṃ jaya-raṇa-bhuvi ca
Śrī-Vijērāmarājaṃ ॥
Sva guru-caraṇa-bhaktō Rāmacandrānuraktaḥ
Smṛti-vinihita-cittō yācaka-kṣīṇa-vittaḥ ।
ripu-raṇa-kṛta-kīrttiḥ sarvadā śānta-mūrttiḥ
sa jayati śubha-gātraḥ Kūrmanāthākhya Pātraḥ ॥
Lakṣmī-nṛsiṁha-svastyastu Śrīman = Nārāyaṇājñayā ।
bhavatāṃ varddhitāṃ bhaktiḥ Śrīrāmānuja-
Lakṣmaṇē ॥

The battles of Jelmur, referred to above, took place between A. D. 1753 and 1756. The above *ślokas* show that the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Rāj did not bow down its head under Sītārāma Rāz who acted as a regent of

Vizianagaram. Actually, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva used the glorious title of *Sārvabhauma* which title is mentioned by the contemporary Sanskrit poets. The following verse found in some palm-leaf manuscripts of the 18th century proves it :—

Jagannāthanārāyaṇē *sārvabhaumē*
sthitē kiṃ kariṣyantinaḥ khaṇḍa-bhūpāḥ ।
prafullaṃ rasālaṃ vinā-puṣpa-dānaṃ
pramōdāya nanyā bhavanti drumāḥ kiṃ ॥

(Vide the Manuscript note-book of Caitanya Rājguru)

"Mr. Cotsford came to Ganjam in 1767 A. D. He found the country to the north of Vizagapatam in a very disturbed state. Nārāyaṇa Deo, the Zamindar of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, the largest and most important zamindari in Ganjam, had possessed himself the country and refused to submit to the authority of the English, intercepting all communications between Bengal and Madrass".[1] This statement shows how powerful Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo was.

Mr. Cotsford wrote as follows about the mismanagement of the country at Ganjam which is cited in the *District Manual of Ganjam* in Pages 89-90 :—"Sītārām Rāz's general who protected the country oppresses the Renter of the *Pargunnāh*, the Renter oppresses the *Dūrogāh* or Governor of the town, and the Governor, the poor people most severely." Mr. Cotsford, however, reported favourably upon the situation of Ganjam, and the chances of making an investment there, but as it was evident that nothing could be done in the district without the presence of troops, he shortly returned to Madras. In the following year 1768,

[1] *The Ganjam District Manual*, P. 89 f.

the government determined to reduce Nārāyaṇadeva, the refractory Zamindar of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, and Colonel Peach who was then in command of a Bengal battalion at Masulipatam, received orders to proceed against him. Mr. Cotsford was at the same time, instructed to accompany Colonel Peach's force and to take up his appointment at Ganjam as Resident. The following resolution, dated the 4th of April, 1768, was accordingly passed by the Madras Council : Although our intentions of settling a factory at Ganjam last year were frustrated by the situation of affairs in the Chicacole Circar and by the war with Nizām Āli, yet as we have constantly kept that object in view, and our Resolutions in the other department to reduce Nārāyaṇadeva and the other rebellious Zamindars promise a more favourable conjuncture, it is agreed that Mr. Cotsford be again sent thither, and that the necessary instructions for his conduct be accordingly prepared, and as it will be necessary for a quantity of stores to be sent to Ganjam, and a vessel will be waiting to transport the heavy stores and baggage belonging to the Bengal detachment proceeding against Nārāyaṇadeva; ordered that the Master Attendant be directed to make enquiry for a well-found vessel of about two hundred tons or upwards for those purposes to be freighted by the Company so long as they may pave occasion to employ."

Mr. Cotsford arrived at Chicacole in April, 1768, and caused the attested copy of the Nizam's final firman to be read in open Cutcherry in the presence of Sītārām Rāz, the Nizām's *Faujdār* for the Chicacole Circar. The force under Colonel Peach soon afterwards defeated Nārāyaṇadeva near Jalmur, in May, 1768, and compelled him to take

 the Māliah country attached to his Zamindari. Upon the advice of Mr. Cotsford, it was deemed prudent to put in the defeated Raja's son as his successor in order to avoid complications and further disturbances. The actual management of the Pārlākimeḍi area was, however, entrusted to Rāma Jōgi, the person nominated to be the new Zamindar's *Pātra* (or Diwan) by the Company. Colonel Peach's battalion continued in the Pārlākimeḍi Zamindari until the country to the south had been partially settled, and Mr. Cotsford meanwhile proceeded northwards to Ganjam and entered upon the duties of his appointment as Resident in July, 1768.

The Chicacole Circar, as administered by the Mussalmans, had been divided into and managed as three divisions, namely Ichāpur, Chicacole and Kāsimkoṭā. Chicacole and Kāsimkoṭā being nearer to Vizagapatam, were placed under the control of a Chief and Council, posted in that place; but the Ichāpur province lay too far to the north and rendered the presence of a Resident at Ganjam absolutely necessary to administer the affairs.

Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva married the daughter of Harikṛṣṇa Deva Roy of the old Cālukya family of Māchamarā[1] in Pārlākhimuṇḍi. From the records of the Deva Roya's family we know that they started their line from Vimalāditya and Rājarāja Narendra (A. D. 1070—1118) of Rājamundry. We think, the copperplate inscription of Upalaḍā which records the grant of one *Rāṇaka* Rāmadeva of the Tailapa family, may throw some light on it. As Māchamarā is very close to Upalaḍā, we are tempted

[1] Māchamarā is a village situated at a distance of 10 miles to the north-east of Pārlākhimuṇḍi Town.

to trace the origin of Māchamarā family from Cālukya Tailapa (II), who lived in the last part of the 10th century A. D. In this connection, we like to quote Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra's view regarding the identification of *Rāṇaka* Rāmadeva's family :— "I think, the famous Cālukya monarch, Tailapa (II), who is credited with outstanding military achievements, and whose bitter rivalry with the Paramāra sovereign, Vākpati Muñja, is well-known[1]. Further support to this identification is lent by the fact that his *lāñchana* consisting of a standing boar, an elephant goad, etc., depicted on the seal of Rāmadeva's inscription, is the same as is usually found on the seals of the Cālukya records[2]. Cālukya Tailapa (II) died in or about 998 A. D.[3]

The Gaṅgas established matrimonial relationship with the Cālukyas since the 10th century or even before, which is proved from several copperplate inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. We, therefore, give a table of the Deva Roya family of Māchamarā in the next pages. It should be noted here that the famous Mukunda Bāhubalendra, who captured Orissa after the end of the rule of the solar dynasty, is a member of this family. Mukundadeva fought with the Mussalmans in the south and extended his kingdom in Orissa as far as the Godāvari in the South and West Bengal in the east by defeating the Mussalamans. At last, owing to some trachery played by his subordinate chiefs, he was murdered near the fort of Kāṭasāni in the district of Balasore. It is said that Kalāpāhāḍa invaded Orissa during the same time and destroyed a large number of Hindu temples and images.

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[1] D. C. Ganguli's *History of the Paramara Dynasty*— P. 61.

[2] *E. I.*, V. P. 20, 135

[3] *E. I.*, XXIII, PP. 141—3 ff.

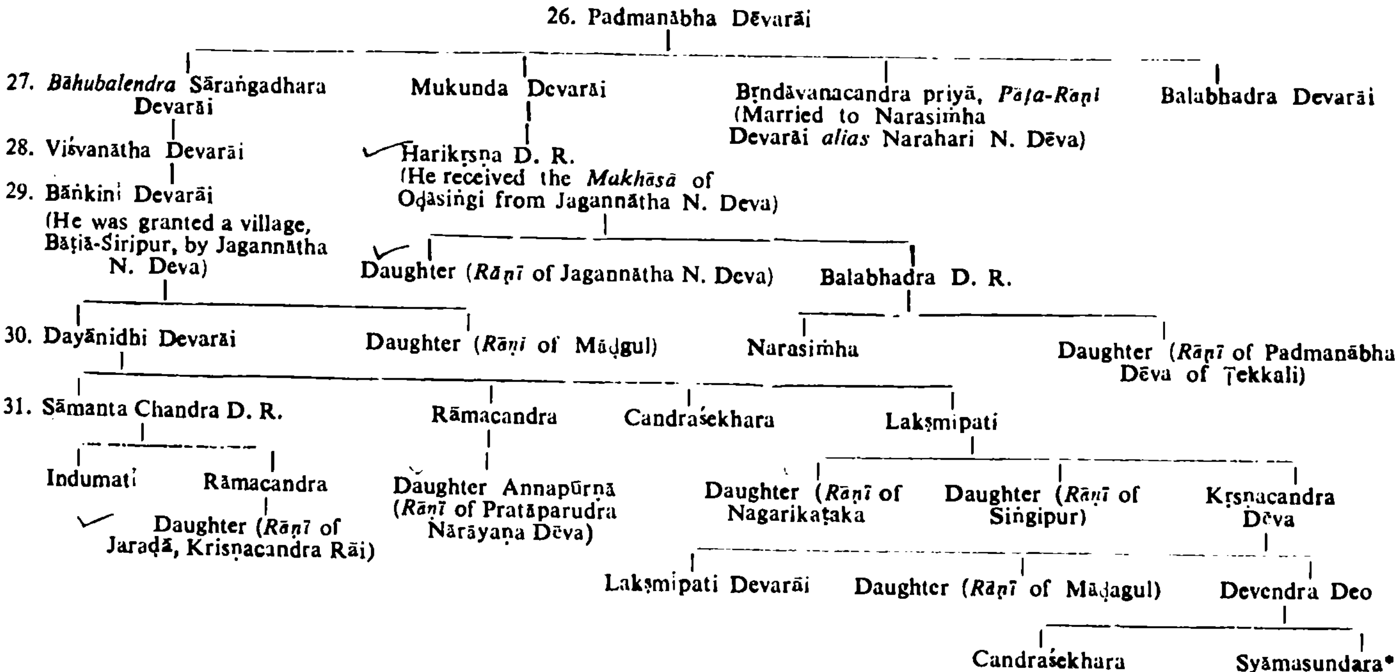
Genealogical table of the Māchamarā (Cālukya) family

1. Vimalāditya
2. Rājarājanarendra (1070—1118 A. D.)
3. Kulottuṅga (1070—1134 A. D.)
4. Vijayāditya

5. Mallavadeva
6. Upendra (I)
7. Kopa Bhūpati
8. Māna Bhūpati
9. Viśveśvara Bhūpati
10. Upendra (II)
11. Nṛsiṁha Bhūpati (He reigned at Pañcadhārlā and fought with the king of Vizayanagara in 1338 A. D.)
12. Kumāra Tantra Bhūpati
13. Nāgendra Bhūpati
14. Śrīdhara Rajanarendra
15. Hari Narēndra
16. Mukunda *Bāhubalendra*
17. Mēdinī Dēva
18. Dharma Dēva
19. Maṅgarāja Dēva *
20. Jagannātha Dēva
21. Mukunda Dēvarāya
22. Rāmakṛṣṇa Dēvarāya
23. Vēṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇa Dēvarāya
24. Ananta Dēvarāya
25. Gurava Dēvarāya
26. Padmanābha Dēvarāi

Vikramacōla (son of Vijayāditya)
Bhūpa Mahīpati

* We are not able to trace if this *maṅgarāja* was a poet in the time of Padmanābhadeva, refered to above at page 96, foot-note 1.



* This genealogical table was collected by me from the Sāmanta family of Māchamarā where they live till at present. They belong to the dynasty of the Cālukyas. There were matrimonial alliances between this family and many Zamindar families of South Orissa including the Gaṅgas of Pārlākhimuṇḍi.

134 The following accounts from the *Fifth Report* of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 28th of July, 1812, (Vol. III), from Page 78, is quoted below :—

"Kimeḍy, 50 miles north-east by north from the town of Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) is the capital of another tributary, but more accessible dependent principality, vested in a *Rājā* of the royal family of Orissa, who actually bears the titular designation of that ancient house under the proper name of *Gajeputty Deo*[1]. Through the refractory imprudence of Nārrain Deo[2], father of the present occupant, in opposing the Company's authority. During the war with Nizām Āli in 1767-68, almost the whole country was overrun by the English arms, and the proprietor being expelled, was in danger of losing for ever the familiy inheritance; and though this object hath ever since been the favourite policy, and constant aim of Sītārām Rāzu as a necessary attainment to accomplish his own ambitious views of aggrandizement and unrivalled pre-eminence, yet the lenity and virtue of the British Government have hitherto preserved the rights and privileges annexed to this little territory entire, in lineal succession, to the lawful heir, with the exception of the districts of Gundaporam (Guṇupuram ?) and Eremundlelum, (Hīramaṇḍalam ?), valued at Rs. 60, 000. Nevertheless, the remainder still yields a gross revenue of two lakhs, of which perhaps the public, either in policy or justice, should not claim more than one half, being......................25,000."

[1] Gajapatideva

[2] Nārāyaṇadeva *alais* Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva.

With regard to Tekkaly, the report says:—"It is situated at 43 miles north from Chicacole on the east coast, entirely reduced, serving and necessarily, under complete subjection to the English Government, as being situated in the line of communication between the northern and southern divisions of Chicacole, is, as it may in fact continue to be, the inheritance of Jagget Deo, another descendant of the royal family of Orrissa, but more immediately branching from that of Kimedy. The district yields a lakh of rupees; but if the proprietor is to be supported in princely grandeur, the tribute cannot with propriety be increased beyond ... 10,000."

We are not aware of how Jagannāth Nārāyaṇa Deo was connected with the Nāgavamśi kings of Kharoṇḍe or the present Kalāhāṇḍi. But, from the reports relating to Buster and Kharoṇḍe dependency of the Rayapur district by Lt. Col. Elliot, Deputy Commissioner, Rayapur and G. A. C. Plowden Esq., Commissioner of Nagpur, on the 28th of July, 1856, (page 14), it seems that the Kharoṇḍe area was under the control of the Khimuṇḍy Gaṅgas up to the time of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo. The above report says:—

"The Dependency of Kharoṇḍe is said to have normally belonged to a family of Gaṅgavaṁśi Rājaputs, the last member of which named Juggernauth Deo, having no male issue to succeed him, sent, in the year 416[1] (1006 A. D.) for one Ragunāuth Sāi Deo (Raghunātha Sāi), the younger brother

[1] If Mr. Elliot means the date as *Fussli*, then it is equal to A. D. 1006; but so far as the Pārlākhimuṇḍi history goes, there was no Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo living in that date. So, he should be either Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo (I) known as "*Sarvajña*" or the Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo who started his reign from A. D. 1751. The date is, therefor, a mistake

of the Rājā Śatrumjaijurh in Chota Nagpur and gave him his daughter in marriage together with the right of succession to the dependency. This Raghunātha Sāi Deo, a Nāgavaṁśī Rājput, was the first member of the present family who have eversince uninterruptedly held possession of the Dependency[1].

The present *Rājā*, Udit Pratāp Deo, is the 28th in succession: he succeeded his father in the year 1263 *F* and is now about 21 years of age."

It is presumed that when the Gaṅgas of Khimuṇḍi lived in Guḍārikaṭaka, the whole area, comprising of Kalāhāṇḍi, Buster, portions of Jeypore, and Pārlākhimuṇḍi together with the Chicacole Circar, was under their possession.

Since the time of Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva and his father, the Mohammedans continued to rule this part of the country with their usual policy of oppression. In the year 1723, Āsaf Jāh *alias* Nizām-ul-Mulk, was appointed as the *Subādār* of Deccan by the Mughal Emperor of Delhi. He sent one, Anwarud-din-khān as the *Faujdār* in 1726 to Śrīkākulam to rule over that country from A. D. 1726 to 1740. A list of the *Faujdārs*, posted in the Chicacole Circar, is given below :—

1. Anwar-ud-din-khān A. D. 1726-1740
2. Jāffer-Āli-Khān A. D. 1740-45
3. Ābdullah-Khān A. D. 1745-1749 and 1749-1753.

According to the *Kaṭaka-Rāja-Vaṁśāvalī*[2], Jāffer Āli-Khān (1740-45 A. D.) arrested four Zamindars namely, (1) Madhusūdana Haricandana of Āṭhagaḍa,

[1] From an unpublished palm leaf manuscript, found at Bhawanipatna, we get the history of the Nāgavaṁśi kings of Kalāhāṇḍi where it is stated that Kalāhāṇḍi was under the Gaṅgas of Khimuṇḍi previously.

[2] *The Local Records*, Madras, B. Volume 37

(2) Candraśekhara Narendradeva of Mohiri, (3) Mādhavasiṁha of Cikiṭi and (4) Puruṣottama Anaṅga-bhima of Sānakhimuṇḍi. They were imprisioned at Srīkākulam as they failed to pay their arrear dues to the Muslim Governor. Upon this, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi collected a large army and attacked Srīkākulam, the capital city of the Mohammedan *Faujdārs*. He was victorious in the battle. After this, he liberated the above named Zamindars from confinement and gave them shelter in his own palace. Then, he captured the Mohammedan forts at Ichāpur and Aska when he also took possession of Siddheśvarakoṭā in Sānakhimuṇḍi.

Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva was not only a great politician and warrior but also a renowned scholar and poet. He composed a *kāvya* known as the *Bṛindāvanacandra-vihāra* in Oriya. This book was completed by him at Pārlākhimuṇḍi, in the Rāmaśvami temple, in the Śaka year 1689 or A. D. 1767, the 27th of October.* He went on pilgrimage to Bṛindāvana where he accepted the cult of Vaiṣṇavism and selected the *mahanta* of Rādhākānta Muṭha (Puri)

* "Śarkarā svādu śūkara najāṇilā parāyē
naruċē khalaku ēhi pirati sañcē sujanaku ।
Vraja-paryaṭana sādhu-saṅga mu jē hōili ėthi yōgyaku hē sujanē ।
kali cāri-sahasra-āṭha-śata-sataṣaṭhi varaṣa samāpata
Śakābda ṣōlasa-aṇanau-sambatsara-nāma sarvajita hē sujanē ।
Kārttika-śuddha-pañcamirē ārambha kalu ēhi grantha vidhāna
Māgha-vasanta-pañcamirē pūrṇa maṅgalavārē
dvādaśa-daṇḍa-bhōga vattiśa litā pramāṇa hē sujanē ।
basi Rāmasvāmiṅka chhāmurē ati tōṣa khimuṇḍi-pāṭaṇārē
Gaṅga-vaṁśōtpatti Jagannāthanārāyaṇadēva sucittarē hē sujanē ।
Bṛndāvanē Rādhā-kuṇḍa Śāma-kuṇḍa prati kuñja kali darśana
puṇi jētē saṁkēta-sthala māna Rāsasthali-dhūli sevi
parikramā kari Giri-gōvardhana hē sujanē ॥
kari sēvana lōkana samūha vihi yamunā-jalē avagāha ।
puṇi Vṛndādēvi-kṛpāru nirṇili ghēna sujana-nivaha hē ē Rāma ॥"

(Vide the *Bṛndāvanacandra-vihāra, 1st chhanda*)

138 as his *guru*. It seems that he lived in Bṛindāvana for about three years, and then returned to Pāralākhimuṇḍi. Thereafter, he diverted his attention to literature and also to religious performances. Many famous poets and musicians flourished in his court. He wrote another Oriya book called *Prabhāvatipariṇaya*. One of his music teachers was Puruṣōttama Miśra who composed a famous book called the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, a master-piece in the science of music. The invocatory verses of this book are quoted below :—

"Nilādri-kandar = ānandī-mandarāyaṇa vanditaṃ
vandē vandāru-mandāram =
indirā-mandiraṃ mahaḥ ||

pravṛtta-tālaṃ karatālikābhir =
ābhīrikāṇāṃ kala-vēṇu-gītaṃ |
nṛtyantam = atyanta-mudīrṇa-hāsaṃ
rāsaṃ bhajantaṃ Harim = antarīḍē ||"[1]

Puruṣōttama Miśra got the title of *Kaviratna* as being the author of several commentaries of the Sanskrit *kāvyas*, namely the *Haṁsadūta* by Rūpa Gōsvāmi, *Anargharāghava-nāṭaka* by Murāri and *Naiṣadha Mahākāvya* by Śrīharṣa. His brother was also a *Paṇḍit* in the *Vyākaraṇa*, *Alaṁkāra*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Śruti*, *Smṛti*, *Purāṇa*, *Nāṭaka* and *Koṣa*, which fact is known from the following verse :—

yad yad vyākṛti bhavya-kāvya-racanā =
laṁkāra-sāṅkhya-śruti-
smārtt-ānēka-purāṇa-nāṭaka-kathā-
kōṣādi-bhāṣāvidaḥ |

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[1] The Asiatic Society MSS. Report, No. 328 of 1871
See also Sri K. N. Mahapatra's *Descriptive Catalogue* of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa, Vol. II, *Intro.* pp. CL II—CI. VIII ff. Regarding the date of Purushottama Miśra, Sri Mahapatra says that he flourished tentatively in 1690—1750 A. D.

dhīra-Śrīdhara-Miśra-pāda-kamalāt-
bhrātur = mama yā yasō =
dhīraṃ yat = tad = iha vyalēkhi yad = idaṃ
gītaṃ hi tan = nāmakaṃ ॥

It is also clear that he belonged to a brāhmaṇa family whose custom was to study the Sanskrit literature thoroughly. In the concluding passages of each chapter of the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, we get the following colophon :—

Iti Śrīman = nikhilānandavāy = ōttuṅga-
Cōḍagaṅga-vaṁśā = vataṁs = āśēṣa-guṇa-sadma-
Padmanābha-bhūmipati-tanujanmanō
mahārājādhirājasya sāhitya-saṅgīt = ārṇṇava-
karṇṇadhāra-maṇēr = Gajapati-Vīra-Śrī-
Nārāyaṇadēvasya kṛtau *Saṅgītanārāyaṇau*······

It shows that Puruṣōttama Miśra was patronised by Padmanābhadeva's son, Nārāyaṇadeva, of Pārlākhimuṇḍi[1] for which reason he dedicated the book in his name. In the *Saṅgitanārāyaṇa*, the so called author, Nārāyaṇadeva says, Puruṣōttama Miśra was his *guru*; and while giving some examples, he further goes on saying :—

asmad = *guru-kaviratna*-Puruṣōttama-
Miśrāṇāṃ Mālavī-rāgēṇa Rūpaka-
tālēna gīyatē.

Most of the Sanskrit—ballads, cited in the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, are either in praise of Raghunātha or Śri-Kṛṣṇa, the two family deities of the Rāj-family of Pāralākhimuṇḍi. Some specimen lines of the ballads are quoted below :—

[1] Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva was adopted by Padmanābhadeva who was succeeded by his brother, Pratāparudra, and acted as a guardian of t e minor *rājā*, Jagannātha.

atha caraṇāyudha-kamaṭha-gadāgraja-
dīna-paṭita-daya-janita vidhe ।
Nārāyaṇa-nṛpa Gajapatim = īśvara
pāhi kṛpālaya lokanidhe ॥

Gurjarī-rāgēṇa, Adi-tālēna (gīyate) :

Mādhava, parama-puruṣa-suranāyaka
Daśaratha-nandana dṛta caraṇē ।
Madhusūdana, Narakāsura-nāśana
Kamalālaya-bhava-bhaya-tāraṇē । *(udgrāha)*
Jaya-jaya Janakasutādhava-Rāghava
Pītāmbara-giridhara-nṛharē ।
Nanda-tanaya-Garuḍadhvaja-manasija-tāta
Vijaya-sakhā-Kṛṣṇa-Harē । *[Dhruva]*

madhyamam = idam = adhunā
tava vidhu-mukhinī kaṭīdurubhaṅgaṃ ।
Mandara-girivara-vandhura-kucabhara-
bhūritar = āhatam = aṅgaṃ ॥
dāruṇa-maṇi-dharaṇīṃ kimu paśyasi
durīkṛta-darahāsaṃ ।
cañcalayālidṛśa-cañcala-mīna
na muñcaya muñcana-dāsaṃ ॥
ājñāpayatu karomi padaṃ tava
lotakam = api vinayēyaṃ ।
Nārāyaṇa Gajapati kṛtir = udayati
gītir = udāratirēyaṃ ॥

Kāmōdi-rāgēṇa, Kuḍukka-tālēna (gīyate) :

ānanam = idam = aruṇaṃ tava sundari
katham = iha hāṭaka-gauraṃ ।
abhinava-mihira-kiraṇacaya-cumbita-
kanaka-kamala-ruci-gauraṃ ॥
Rādhē, na kuru manōmayi-puruṣam ॥ [*Dhr*:]

In the first canto of the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, we notice the following verses in which the author writes

that Nārāyaṇadeva, son of Padmanābhadeva,[1] is the king, in whose name the book was dedicated :—

Tēṣāṃ bhūkhaṇḍa-bhūṣā Khimuḍir=iti sphurat-
kṣōṇi-vikṣōbhi-rājyaṃ
tatr=ābhūt Padmanābhō nṛpatir=ati-valaḥ
kāla-kalpō vibharṣa ।
vīras=tasmād=akasmān='malad=amala-guṇō
'dhīta-saṅgīta-vidyāḥ
kundat=kīrttir=Mukunda-smṛti-kṛti-sukṛtir-
bhūpa-Nārāyaṇō 'bhūt ॥

Tēn=ādya-nāma-munibhiḥ samamīkṣa-granthā
=nākṛṣyatāṃ sca[UU—]dhunikaiḥ kavindraiḥ ।
Saṅgītanārāyaṇatastam=ētat=
tauryatrikāsīt kriyatē hitāya ॥

According to the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, Puruṣōttama Miśra wrote a book named the *Tālasaṁgraha*. This book is, unfortunately, not available.[2] Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva has also written another book on the *Alaṁkāra*, entitled the *Alaṁkāracandrikā* in Sanskrit. This book is also not yet coming to light.

In the court of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva, there lived another Sanskrit scholar who wrote a book on the *Alaṁkāra* in Sanskrit. The book is called the *Kavicintāmaṇi*. Its author is the *Kavibhūṣaṇa* Gopinātha Pātra who belonged to the Karaṇa caste. In the

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[1] In an unpublished Palm-leaf Manuscript, entitled the *Abda-dūta* written by one Kṛṣṇa Śrī-candana, we get the following verse :—

Vīra Śrī Padmanābhō nṛpa-kula-tilakō
Dharmadēvasca jīyāt ।
tat=sācivyāt praśastaḥ kavi-tilaka-suhṛn=
Maṅgarājaḥ kṛtir=yaḥ ॥
(Vide the *Descriptive Catalogue of Saṁskrit Mss.*, Vol. II, *Orissa, Intro. P. CXLV*)

[2] Recently, a palm-leaf M. S. was aquired by Pandit Suryanarayana Misra from Ganjam. It is not yet edited.

 colophon of the book, we get the following description regarding its author :—

Iti Śrīmat-Khimuṇḍi-mahārājyēśvara—
Gaṅga-vaṁśāvataṁsa-Vīra-Śrī-Gajapati—
Jagannāthanārāyaṇadēva-mahārāja-vidvat—
sabhā-rājita-pravandha-kavitā-prakāśaka—
karaṇa-kula-sambhava-*kavi-bhiṣakvara*—
Vāsudēva Pātra-tanaya-Śrīmat Gōpīnātha
Kavibhūṣaṇa-kṛtau *Kavicintāmaṇau*······

Gopinātha Pātra's father, Vāsudeva Pātra was also a poet and possessed the title of *Kavibhūṣaṇa* according to the following verse, quoted from the *Kavicintāmaṇi*:—

āyurvēda-sudhā-samudra-vilasat—
śrī-karṇṇadhārō mahān—
dharmajñāna-vivēkabhūṣaṇaparō
vidyā-rasajñaḥ sadā ।
śrīmat = rāja-sabhā-niyukta-vacana-
vyāpāra-pāraṅgamō
vādyāḍhyaṃ *kavibhūṣaṇam* janitavān
Śrī-Vāsudēvaḥ *kavi* ॥'

(Vide the *Kavicintāmaṇi*, 20th *Kiraṇa*)

Gopīnātha Pātra wrote the *Praśasti* of his patron, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva as follows :—

"Śrīmat Gaṅgādhivaṁśa-pracura-jaladhija—
sat = kalā-maṇḍitāṅgaḥ
sāhityādi-pramōdāmṛta-bharita-tanuḥ—
rājatē bhūpa-candraḥ ।
satkāraiḥ prītiyuktaiḥ kavi-jana-kumudā-
mōdad = āryya-prasannō
duḥkha-dhvāntasya hantā-pravara-dhi-guṇinā
Śrī-Jagannātha-nāmā ॥

Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva himself has composed a Sanskrit book, entitled the *Rāmacandrōdaya*. Unfortunataly, this book is also not available at present.

In his court, there lived another scholar and poet named Lokanātha Tripāṭhī who belonged to the family of his *Rājaguru*. He wrote a Sanskrit book called the *Kavikaṇṭhahāra*[1] which is a dictionary of poetic usages, relating to Saṁskrit metaphors. A manuscript of this book is now preserved in the State Museum Library of Orissa at Bhuwaneśvar. The *Kavikaṇṭhahāra* is dedicated to Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa deva according to the following verse, quoted from the book:—

Śrīkṛṣṇaṃ jalada-śyāmaṃ
jagac=caram=akārakaṃ ।
Bṛṣabhānu-sutā=sakta—
mānasaṃ UU—U— ॥
Śrīmat Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa—
dēvēna bhūbhujā ।
Kavikaṇṭhahāram=iti
granthōyaṃ racyatē mayā ॥

In another place, he writes :—

caturdik-vibhakte=ndu-śubhaika-kīrttiḥ
sadā yācakā=bhiṣṭa-ghana-pravīṇaḥ ।
śarat-puṇḍarīka-prabha-chhatra-yuktō
Jagannāthanārāyaṇākhyō vibhāti ॥

× × × ×

Jagadāvali-kajvala-nīla-rucē
nava-paṅkaja-kuṭmala-cāru-kucē ।
ayi Tāriṇi tāraya māṃ jagataḥ
karuṇārdra-kaṭākṣa-nirīkṣaṇataḥ ॥
nava-mauktikadāma-niyukta-galē
rucirādhara-nindita-bimva-phalē ।

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[1] According to Sri K. N. Mahapatra, the date of composition of this work is *circa* 1760 A. D. (Vide *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. II, *Intro.* p. CXCVII ff.)

Lokanātha Tripāthi, the author, seems to have suffered from poverty, and also from some unknown diseases, for which reason he composed the following *ślokas* while dwelling under physical and mental infirmity :—

madīya vaktrāt vacanē vahirgatē
bhayaṃ labhanti smṛti-śāstra-vādinaḥ ।
× × × ×
pūrva-janma-kṛta hētō sva pāpaṃ
prāptaeva khalu duḥsaha-duḥkhaṁ ।
kiṃ bhaviṣyati puṅar = nahi jānē
Nīlakaṇṭha sudayāṃ kuru śīghraṃ ॥
× × × ×
na nirdayatvaṃ bhava sāmprataṃ Harē
Kalau sahāyō'sti na kas = tvayā vinā ।
mamāgrajau yau kila pārśva-saṁsthitau
yatō'pya = 'bhūtāṃ dhruvam = ēva vairiṇau ॥

Examining the temple chronicles of Śrī-Jagannātha at Puri, Pandit Sūryanārāyaṇa Dās[1] writes that the king, Jagannātha N. Deva, ruled the country for 40 years, five months and three days. His kingdom extended from the Godāvarī up to Chatragaḍa of the Puri district. He granted many *Śāsanas* and *agrahāras* for religious purpose. In his time, a Nawab namad Jāffar Āli Khān invaded the dominion. He captured the feudatory chiefs of Mahuri, Āṭhagaḍa, Cikiṭi and Baḍagaḍa, as they did not pay the tax, due to him. After they were imprisioned by the Nawab, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva interfered in that affair and fought with the Muslim soldiers. A battle was organized near Vizianagaram where he liberated the said Zamindars from captivity. He invaded Orissa, *via*-Chatragaḍa which was a strong fort near Bāṇapur.

[1] The *Sahakāra* (Oriya Monthly Journal), Vol. XVI, Part—1, Pages 42—44. ff.

There, he established a temple of Mahādeva named Kapileśvara. He also constructed (or repaired) the famous temple of Bhagavatī at the same place. The compound wall of the temple was also constructed by him. He defeated the *Rājā* of Khurdā and became the ruler of Khurdā for three years one month and five days. After this, he gave a fight to the Mahaṛāṭṭas and was imprisoned. But, due to his cleverness he escaped from the Mahaṛāṭṭa camp; where after he subjugated the Chief of Kujaṅga. *

From the note book of Caitanya Rājaguru we get the following entries relating to the exact dates of his raids against Vīrakiśoradeva, the King of Khurdā, and also his pilgrimage to Brindāvana and back to Pārlākhimuṇḍi.

1. Vṛṣa Saṁvatsara, Caitra Śukla, the 12th *tithi* :— He marched towards Cuttack (Khurdā ?).

2. Citrabhānu Saṁvatsara, Kārtika, Śukla, 10th day, (*i. e.*, the 27-10-1762 A. D.) :—He returned back to Pārlākhimuṇḍi:

3. Citrabhānu Saṁvatsara, Phālguna, Śukla, the 4th day (*i. e.*, 17-2-1763 A. D.) :—His voyage on the ship to Puri (Śrī-Kṣetra).

4. Ekādaśi (of the same year and month which is equal to 26-2-1763 A. D.) :—Arrival at Śrī-Kṣetra (Puri).

5. *Trayōdaśi* of the same year and same month (which is equal to 28-2-1763 A. D.) :—He started for *Braja* (Brindāvana).

6. Sarvajit Saṁvatsara, Āṣāḍha, Kriṣṇa, 10th day (*i. e.*, the 21st June, 1767 A. D.) :— He returned back to Pārlākhimuṇḍi. After II months, the fight at Jalmur was started.

* We fail to know from which record Pandit Mishra has got this information

The above entries prove that he was not present in Pārlākhimuṇḍi from February, 1763 up to the 21st of June, 1767 (*viz.* four years and four months).

Immediately after his return from Brindāvana, he renewed his powers in Ganjam so that the English found it hard to stop his military progress. So, in the month of April, 1768 A. D., they sent Col. Peach to restrain his warlike activities. At that time, a clever and efficient officer named Rāma Jogi Pātra was his Dewan.

In the year 1753, the Northern Circars were granted to the French by the Nawab of Hyderabad. Bussy, the French General, appointed, as stated before, Vizia Rām Rāj of Vizianagaram to look after the management of Chicacole, when the latter managed administration only for one year, *i. e.*, for the year 1753. After him, the administration passed to the hands of Ibrahim Khān Gadidi, (1753—56 A. D.) He was succeeded by Anwaruddin-Āli-Khān in 1756.

In the *Chronology of Modern India, 1494 to 1894* (Page 211), Dr. James Burgess gives the following accounts of the year 1759 A. D.—

"October 7 :—In answer to a request from Nārāyaṇa *Din**, the Chief of Ganjam, for help against the French, Clive sends the "*Hardwicke*" to Ganjam, but Nārāyaṇa Din being longer anxious to expel the French, sends back the ship." Here, the author of the record puts the name of Nārāyaṇa Deo by mistake as Nārāyaṇa Din. Anyway, it is quite clear that Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, who was then attempting to regain the power and prestige of his family, must have tried to establish diplomatic contact with the English as well as the French, the two big rivaling powers of India.

* Nārāyaṇadeva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi

In the year 1757, the power of the French began to decline. In the same year, Vizia Rām Rāj, with the help of Bussy, fought against his enemies at Bobbili. That was a decisive event in the history of the Northern Circars. During that time, Vizia Rām Rāj was murdered while sleeping in his own camp. He was succeeded by Ānanda Rām Rāj, who was a prudent and ambitious king of Vizianagaram and who attempted to wipe out his enemies with the help of the French. At first, his father (Vizia Rām) fell upon Pārlākhimuṇḍi, fighting in a tuff battle at Jalmur which we have already described previously. Jalmur was a strong fort in the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Zamindari. It was situated on the western boarders of the State. One Kūrmanātha Pātra, who was appointed by Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa deva as a commander, seems to have annihilated the aggresive soldiers of Vijaya Rām Rāj and his followers at Jalmur. So, he was honoured by the people of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. After this, Pārlākhimuṇḍi enjoyed the sovereign status for a short time. In this connection a local Sanskrit poet composed the following verses, eulogizing the patriotic enterprises of the *Rājā* Jaganātha Nārāyaṇa-deva who is designated as the *sārvabhauma*.

"Aparṇṇā hyaparṇṇā sphuṭaṃ dēvatānām=
aparṇṇō'vatīrṇṇō na kaścin=narāṇāṃ ।
Jagannātha-bhūpāla-rājādhikarṇṇaṃ
sadāmām-aparṇṇaṃ kuru tvaṃ mahātman ॥ [1]
Jagannāthanārāyaṇē *sārvabhaumē*
sthitē kiṃ kriṣyantinaḥ khaṇḍa-bhūpāḥ ।
prafullaṃ rasālaṃ vinā puṣpadānaṃ
pramōdāya cā=nyābhavanti drumāḥ kiṃ ॥" [2]

In the year 1757 A. D., his glorious son, Gaura-candra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa deva, was born immediatly after the battle of Jalmur was over.

The family insignia or *lāñchana*, adopted by the Gaṅgas of Khimuṇḍi, was a *cakra* (disc) and a *śaṅkha* (conch). These emblems are incised in copperplate grants, issued by them, symbolizing their faith in Vaiṣṇavism[1]. Their family *praśasti* runs as follows :—

"Vīra-Śrī-Gajapati-Gauḍēśvara-nava-kōṭi-Karṇṇāṭa-Kalavargēśvara-vīrādhivīravara-Śrī-Śrī-Śrī-Gajapati Śrī-Śrī-Śrī-Chatrapati.." etc. The above epithet was introduced by the Sūryavaṁśi kings of Orissa from the time of Kapileśvara Gajapati who conquered many countries in the Deccan and extended his dominion as far as Rāmeśvaram in the south.

The following Oriya text, in one of the copperplate grants of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva, proves that he was a great patron of the brāhmaṇas and also a worshiper of the god Śrīkṛṣṇa :—

Text

(Obverse)

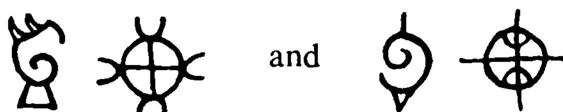
L. 1. Śrī-Vīra-Śrī-Vīrādhivīravara-Śrī-Gajapati-Śrī-Chatrapati —

L. 2. Śrī-Jagannātha-gajapati-nārāyaṇadēva-mahārājāṅkara

[1] (a) In the early stage, the following symbols have been used by the Gaṅgas :—



(b) In the time of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva and his successors, the following symbols are found in their inscriptions :



(Reverse)

L. 3. Pārthiva-nāma-saṁvatsara Vaiśākha Kṛ 2 Maṅgalavārē Mīna di 26 nē Dāmōdara Khāḍaṅgāṅku

L. 4. dhilā dāna cōpa। cōpa-nirṇṇaya। tuṁbhaṅku jē āṁbha tālōkā Nuā-Panōḍā-Muṭhā sa—

L. 5. ṁvaṅdhara[1]* Bōmikā-grāmaku Gajapati-Jagannātha-nārāyaṇadeva-pura bōli nāma kari

L. 6. dēsa(śa) [kari[1]* śāsana kari varaṣa gōṭi ṭa 100 akṣarāṅkē śaē-ṭaṅkā lekhārē ā—

L. 7. ṁbha sarakāraku śrōtriya dēbāku nirṇṇaya kalā Śrī-Śrī-Kṛṣṇārpaṇa kari āja di—

L. 8. na tuṁbhaṅku[1]* ēka-bhukta kari dhārā-pūrvakarē dāna dēi avadhāna kaluṁ jē ē

L. 9. śāsana[1]* yāvata candrārkē[1]* sajala-sthala-nidhi-nikhāta-chāyōpachāya[1]*-gacha-mācha-pada—

L. 10. ra-paṅkāla-kāṣṭa - pāṣāṇa-daṇḍā - gōpatha- sīmānta kari bhasmāntakē[1]* bhasma-yō-

L. 11. gē (?) bhōga kari śrōtriya-ṭaṅkā sadara-sāla āṁbha sarakāra dākhala kari tri-sa-

L. 12. ndhyārē āṁbhaṅku āśīrvāda karuthiva। ēthirē āna avadhi nāhiṁ।

L. 13. Saṁvat।

The date of this inscription corresponds to the 7th May, 1765 A. D. It should be noted here that the date of the solar month, given in this inscription, is not correct. It must be the 20th day of the solar month *Meṣa*.

Another inscription of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva was incised on a copperplate which shows that he granted lands to some Telugu-brāhmaṇas in the village of Māraḍikōṭā, in the present Patapatam

* Daṇḍa is not necessary

Tāluk. We give the English translation of that inscription as follows :—

As we, *Śrī-Vīra-Śrī-Vīrādhivira-Śrī-Gajapati-Śrī-Chatrapati-Śrī-Jagannātha-Gajapati-(Nara)-Nārāyaṇa-deva-Mahārājā*, proclaim this grant in our 24th regnal year *(Aṅka)*, in the cyclic year of *Khara*[1] and on the 24th day of the lunar month Kārttika and on Saturday, to one Mulagavalasā Pārvatīśam in the presence of Goluru, the *Nāiḍu (Nāyaka* or the village headman) of the village of Māraḍikoṭā, fixing the *Śrothriyaṃ* (rent) at Rs. 106/- (Rupees one hundred and six) per annum, which should be remitted at our state-office; thou shall enjoy peacefully this village of Māraḍikoṭā by cultivating and transplanting the crops under eleven equal shares. Thou shall thus enjoy, till the existence of the Sun and the Moon, the water, the lands, the minerals, the dry-lands, the watersources, the trees, the fishery, the public path and other *upāntaṃs* (in the said village) along with the rights of transactions etc. under the virtue of this order (of our); thou shall bless us daily at the auspicious moments of *tri-sandhyā*. The share-holders are :—

Mulagavalasā Pārvatīśam should enjoy	nine (one part)
Vanasi Rāmuḍu	nine (half part)
Tāṅkālā Devamanas	nine (one part)
Pragaḍā Sītārāmuḍu	nine (one part)
Ciṭṭipeḍi Jagannāthaṃ	nine (one and half parts)
Harihara Rājaguru[2]	nine (one part)
Mallādi Goragāṃ	nine (two parts)
Govinda Tirumalācārlu	nine (one part)
Bāvanabhaṭla Puruṣōttama	nine (half part)
Medecerla Sītārāmuḍu	nine (one and half parts)

[1] It must be "Vikṛta" in which year the Kārttika-Paurṇamī falls in Saturday. So, this date corresponds to the 3rd November, 1770, A. D.

[2] He must be Caitanya Rājaguru, father of Harihara, as the latter born in A. D. 1786 (See the genealogical table of the Rājaguru-family).

Total number of *Bhuktā Mahājanas* (donees) is ten, confirmed with eleven *vṛttis*. In this way, thou shall enjoy the village; and there should be no alternative.

Śrī-Śrī-Śrī-(Mahārja's willingness) [Initial mark.]

The boundaries of the village are fixed as follows :—

East :—Tāmalāpura and Ānāpuram.
West :—The bank of Pustalavārā.
North :—Cīḍipālem Hill.
South :—Forest, Maruḍakoṇḍā.

Fiftythree garce of lands are lying within these boundaries. Out of these fiftythree garce, four garce of land has been separated and divided into three equal shares and granted to :—

(1) Gaṅkālā Kūrmannā,
(2) Bhaṭṭipeḍi Tāgennā, and
(3) Praharāju Lakṣmīpati.

The land-tax for this four garce is fixed at rupees four only, payable in two instalments every year. Boundaries of this piece of land, containing four garce, are as shown below :—

East :—Domi Geḍḍā.
West :—Bank of the Maruḍakoṭā tank.
North :—The boundaries of the small hill.
South :—*Bāṭṭe* (stream), flowing by the side of the above tank.

Four garce of lands, within these four boundaries, are also granted. A small piece of dry-land, called Poṭṭi Bāḍa, extending to the north-east as far as *Pagaḍavalli*-tree, is granted to one *Cākali* Maḍama who is a *Dhobi* of the village community.

Under a treaty, made on the 12th of November, 1766 A. D., with Nizām Āli in the Deccan, the Northern Circars were transfered to the possession

of the East India Company, who thereafter tried to exercise their full power in Ganjam.

Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva died in the Śaka year 1692, Pausha-Kṛṣṇa, the 3rd *tithi*, which corresponds to the 5th of December, 1770 A. D. After him, his son, Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva, came to the *gādi* in Śaka 1693 or 1771 A. D. when the 44th *Aṅka* year of the *Rājā* of Puri (Vīrakiśora Deva) was current and in the cyclic year *Khara-Vṛṣa-dina* 13, and *Jyeṣṭa-Śukla-Daśamī-Guruvāra*, *Simha-lagna* (the 23rd of May, 1771 A. D.)

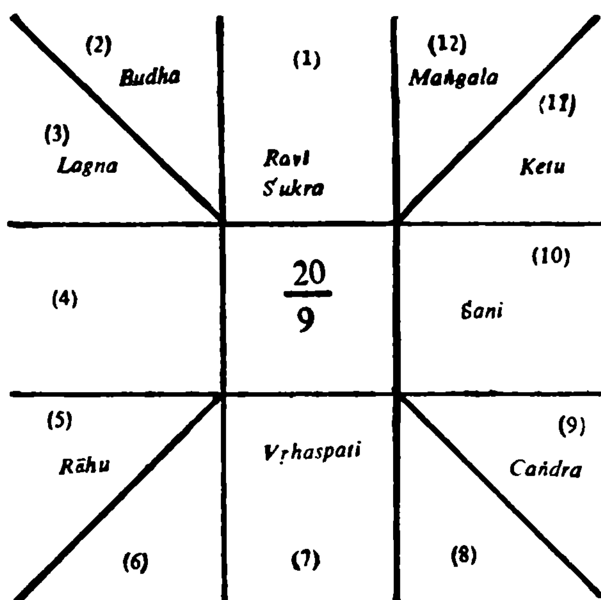
Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva (A. D. 1771—1802)

During the life time of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva, his son, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva, used to take active parts in the affairs of administration as well as in military and judicial matters.

He constructed the ruined temple of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara on the bank of the Mahendratanayā at Patapatam, where one of his inscrīptions is noticed. Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva was born in Śaka 1679 or A. D. 1757. The date of his birth, according to the horoscope, is as given in the next page :—

Īśvara Saṁvatsara, Jyeṣṭa, Kṛ. 5, Sunday, *daṇḍa* 9-3-21, and the Śaka year 1679, which corresponds to the 8th of may, 1757 A. D.

According to another manuscript, the date of his death is given as "Durmati, Māgha, Śukla-2-Friday". We are not able to accept this date in the face of the horoscope, as given above, which was originally recorded by Caitanya Rājaguru in his note book. He lived only for 44 years 8 months and 12 days. He died in January, 1802. He was only 14 years old at the



time when he ascended the *gādi* on the 23rd of May, 1771 A. D. He ruled for 30 years.

"In February, 1772", according to the '*District Manual, Ganjam*' (Page 104), "news was received from the Chief at Vizagapatam that Gajapati Deo, the Zamindar of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, had fled from his estate in consequence of the enemity of and intrigues of Sitārāma Rāj. Mr. Cotsford discovered that he had retired to Rāmagiri in the Māliah country, where he had placed himself under the protection of his uncle, Bhīmadeva, the *Rājā* of Vizianagaram (Baḍakhimuṇḍi).[1] As this Zamindar would probably only advice him to place himself in antagonism to the Company, the Resident was anxious to persuade him to return to his own Zamindari, and for this purpose he sought an interview with him. Gajapati Deo came to the place of meeting about seven miles distant from Vizianagaram, accompanied by Bhīma Deo, who was attended by a force of about three thousand peons."

[1] His full name is Puruṣōttama Anaṅga Bhima Keśari

154 The Resident failed to induce him to return to the Zamindari; so, his half-brother, Jagannātha Deo, was allowed to succeed him.

When Gajapati Deo was only 18 years old, his first son, Chatrapati Deo, was born in the cyclic year Manmatha and in the Śaka year, 1697, *Pauṣya*, *Kṛṣṇa tṛtiyā*, Saturday, which date corresponds to the 9th of December, 1775 A. D. But, that son, Chatrapati, died in an early age. Five years later, his second son, Puruṣōttama Deo, was born in the Śaka year 1702.

In the palm-leaf manuscript, written by Caitanya Rājaguru (whose age in Śaka 1704-5 was only 25 or 26), gives the following account regarding some credits and payments made by the *Rājā* :—

"ē āṁbhaṭhārē Pusupāti-ghara[1] bākī-patra । ēka varṣaku kalantara daśa-uttarā-pramāṇē 1 varṣa kalantara ṭa 12,000 lēkhārē bākī ।

Śubhakṛta—Śōbhanakṛta[2]— saṁvatsara, Jagannātha Arjivēga dēvāra—

ṭa 20,000
ṭa 5,000
ṭa 10,000
ṭa 10.000

dhāna gaḍisā 120 gaḍisāku ṭa 2,400
padē ṭa 4,400 (mōṭa ṭa 51,800)"

The above accounts prove that there was a heavy burden of debt on the Khimuṇḍi-Rājā who borrowed a loan from the Zamindar of Vizianagaram. Caitanya Rājaguru and Arjibega Pātra were probably deputed in collection of revenue and they tried to their utmost level to clear off the debt.

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[1] *Pusupati* is the title of the *rājās* of Vizianagaram.
[2] Śubhakṛt —Śobhanakṛt = 1782-1783 A. D.

Duriug this time, some disputes arose among several Zamindars of the locality. After the death of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva, his son was surrounded by enemies. But, he was protected for a short while by Puruṣōttama Anaṅgabhīma, the *rājā* of Baḍakhimuṇḍi (Vijayanagara), who was a patron of learning. In his court, many eminent scholars and poets thrived. Among them one Vāsudeva Ratha *Sōmayāji* wrote a *campu-kāvya* under the title of *Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritaṃ.* In that *kāvya*, the author says that Puruṣōttama Anaṅgabhīma-deva was a very powerful and glorious king of his dynasty. Like the other Zamindars of Ganjam, he also attempted to retain independence. In the *Ganjam Manual* (P. 92-93), we find that : "(Bhīma Deo) the *rājā* of Vijayanagar and Pratāpapur, who had taken possession of the *Haveli* fort at Kurlā had laid claims to that *Pergunnah.* × × × × He kept up a total force of 4,900 *Pāiks*, and held ten forts and a Palliem in different parts of his country. On the 19th of October, 1768, the resident despatched two companies of *sepoys* under Lieutenant Duncan". After this, the *rājā* was submitted to the English.

Puruṣōttama Anaṅgabhīma seems to have become a very powerful Zamindar of Ganjam like Jagannātha Deva. He claims to have defeated the *rājā* of Nandapur in Jayapur and also the *rājā* of Bhañjapura (Gumsur). He also defeated the Zamindars of Biruli and Pālur in Ganjam and Sālur in Visakhapatna district. The following *ślokas* in the *Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritaṃ* describe his achievements :—

yasy = ākrānti-bhayēna Kērala-patiḥ
Pallīśa vallīyatē
yēn = ākramya haṭhēna Nanda-nagarī-
nāthō = 'pya = 'pārthī-kṛtaḥ ।

yad = bhītyā Magadhēśvarō'pi magadhī-
bhūtēs = tanōti stavaṃ
cakrē Gaṅga-Kaliṅgadēśa-nṛpatīn
yaḥ saṅgarē bhaṅgurān ||
yō = 'sau Bhañja-puraṃ babhañja niyataṃ
mañjuṃ nikuñjōdarē
Pālūra-prabhur = āpa yasya purataḥ
Śālūra līlāyitaṃ |
yēn = ājau khara-nīrasēna Birulī-
rājō vidūrī kṛtaḥ
kiṃ bhūyō Yavanā-raṇē'ti javanā
yēn = ābanamrīkṛtāḥ ||

Probably, Puruṣōttama Anaṅgabhīma Deo joined with Jagannātha N. Deva in his expedition towards Khurda (Orissa).

After the death of Jagannātha N. Deva, he gave full support to his son, Gajapati N. Deva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, for which reason he was attacked by the English. Of course, since 1768, there was dispute existing between he and the English regarding his occupation of Kurla fort. There also, the English diplomacy (*i. e.*, the policy of 'divide and rule') played much successfully. A quarrel between Bhīma Deo and his son, Maṇi Deo, seems to have been the out come from the said ḍiplomacy of the English Officers.

The resident did not appear to have been successful in his endeavours to induce Gajapati Deo to return to his Zamindari, as he, for a long time afterwards, continued to rebel soon after the Company made his brother, Jagannātha Deo,[1] succeed him. Bhīma Deo himself had been withholding his tribute for long, and had fallen so greatly in arrears that it became absolutely

[1] He was only a few months younger than Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva

necessary to take steps for better management of his Zamindari. The Resident was anxious to place Bhīma Deo's son, Maṇi Deo, in charge of the Zamindari; but, his father had quarrelled with him six years previously, and Maṇi Deo sought Company's protection and accompanied the troops on their march[1]. After this, the Baḍakhimuṇḍi fort was captured on the 17th of April, 1772, and Bhīma Deo was expelled.

According to a letter from Mr. Cotsford (1771), Bhīma Deo was a very old and infirm man at that time.[2]

Just then, in Gumsur disputes broke out between two brothers, Lakṣmaṇa Bhañja and Vikrama Bhañja, the sons of Kṛiṣṇa Bhañja who died in 1773 A. D. The elder brother, Lakṣmaṇa Bhañja, died in 1788 and Śrīkara Bhañja succeeded him.

During the time of Lakṣmaṇa Bhañja, the Company's troops used to attack the fort of Gumsur very frequently. So, in 1779 A. D. Vikrama borrowed a loan from Sītārāma Rāz of Vizianagaram and went to Madras to get a *Sanad* for himself from the English. While returning from Madras, he was hardpressed by Sītārāma Rāz at Tekkali for repayment of his loan. But, soon afterwards, the Gumsur Estate was confirmed in the name of Lakṣmaṇa Bhañja who was the father of Śrīkara Bhañja and father-in-law of Jagannātha Deo (a cousin of Gajapati Deo of Pārlākhimuṇḍi). Jagannātha Deo's hands were strengthened owing to the help that he received from Gumsur. It is learnt that Jagannātha Deo took active parts in 1799 in the rebellion which took place at Gumsur.

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[1] The *Ganjam Manual*, P. 104-5 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, P. 102 ff.

It was suspected that in 1769, Bhīma Deo (of Baḍakhimuṇḍi) was intriguing with Sitārām Rāz and other Zamindars for an entry of the Mahrāṭṭas into this country. Therefore, Lieutenant Duncan was deputed in 1769 to march against the *rājā.*[1]

It is quite probable that Mr. Cotsford was prejudiced against the Zamindar of Baḍakhimuṇḍi (Bhīma Deo) who was then helping Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. A little previous to this event, quarrel started between Bhīma Deo and his son, Maṇi Deo, which we have already stated above. The English policy of "divide and rule" was evidently at the back. The quarrel between the father and his son was reported to the English Officers in charge. Finally, the Company's troops helped the son against his own father. The Fort of Baḍakhimuṇḍi was surrounded by the troops. After a long struggle, the old Zamindar, Bhīma Deo, offered his submission to the English. The result was that he drafted a will dividing the estate between his two sons. The eldest son assumed the *gādi* while the younger son got Sānakhimuṇḍi to his share. After this, in A. D. 1776, the old Zamindar died.

In the cyclic year *Vilamvī* (1778 A. D.), in the 8th *aṅka* year, Gajapati Deo granted a village called Govaraivalasā to one Jogi Rāo. It indicates that he was in power up to this date. But, previous to this, in the year 1776 A. D., he was taking shelter in Golgoṇḍa in the Koraput district under Bahirava Bhūpati (Bhairava Bhūpati), the zamindar of that place. It seems that Bhīma Deva, the zamindar of Māḍagol, had good relationship with Gajapati Deva. So, they were treated as two refractory

[1] *Ibid.,* P. 97 ff.

Zamindars against the Company. As a punishment to Bhairava Bhūpati of Golgoṇḍa, he was again subordinated to the Pusapatis (of Vizayanagaram) who raised his tribute from Rs. 23,000/- and also made him keep up a large body of *Pāiks.*[1]

Regarding the affairs of 1774, Dr. Lankasundaram writes:—"The settlement under Vizagapatam had been made with liberality and efficiency. Henry Casamanjor, who had succeeded Alexander Davidson as the cheif of this settlement, seems to have deserved all the credit for the successes that attended the management of the revenue affairs in the Chicacole Sarkar. Even though Tekkali had suffered from the drought prevailing in the Sarkar,[2] the affairs of Kimiḍi demanded even more urgent attention[3]. As the reader will call, the Kimiḍi Zemindary had been sequestrated in 1774, its *rājā* Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, kept under surveilance at Vizagapatam and its affairs managed by Arz Beg on behalf of the Company for a period of six years. The preponderating influence of Arz Beg first as *Dewan* of Gajapati Deo and later as the Compay's manager, had led to the gross mismanagement of the country[4]. The Vizagapatam Council forthwith undertook drastic steps to compel Arz Beg to leave Kimiḍi and surrender himself[5]. When this had been effected, they were recommended clemency in the case of Gajapati Deo who had been consistently loyal to the Company even during the mutiny of the Grenadier Sepoys on the 3rd October, 1780, at

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[1] The *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer,* P. 249 f

[2] Vizagapatam to Madras. 11th Apl., 1780 *Rev. Cons.*, 15th Apl., Vol. 25, PP. 23—27.

[3] For an account of the troubles in Kimiḍi, see *Idem,* 5th May. *Idem,* PP. 73—77.

[4] Viz. to Mad., 30th May, *Idem,* 16th June, *Idem,* PP. 161—165

[5] Same to same, 20th June, 30th June, *Idem,* PP. 287—89

Vizagapatam[1]. At the direction of the Madras Government accordingly Mr. Craufurd and Mr. Maxtone, members of the Vizagapatam Council, proceeded to Kimiḍi and restored Gajapati Deo to his Zamindary".[2]

"Early in October, 1780, the settlement at Ganjam was startled by the news that the first Circar battallion at Vizagapatam had revolted, and fired upon their officers, as they were issuing forth from the Chief's house after dinner. The ostensible reason for this conduct appears to have been that they were under orders to sail from Vizagapatam for Madras, where their services were much needed; but there is reason to suppose that Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, the ex-Zamindar of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, had a good deal to do with the matter. The mutineers, after killing 5 or 6 of the officers, took some of the other prisoners and at the same time, took possession of the fort. Mr. Casamanjor, the Chief, also fell into their hands; but, afterwards, managed to escape on a board vessel in the port at Vizagapatam.

The Resident at Ganjam, upon receiving information of this outbreak, at once directed Captain Bruce at Aska to march against the mutineers, who had placed themselves under the same officer. The news was received, however, that the mutineers had fled from Vizagapatam for Pārlākhimuṇḍi, and that the

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[1] For an account of the mutiny, see Hickey:
The Bengal Gazette, 21st Oct., 1780
Cotton: *List of Inscriptions on Tombs in Madras*, PP. 354-55
See also Viz. to Mad., 20th July, 1780
Rev. Cons., 8th Aug., Vol. 25, PP. 429—31
This letter was accompanied by those from Arz Beg and Jagannātha Deo, *Idem*, PP. 422—25; resolution of Govt. on the above, *Idem*, 13th Oct., *Idem*, PP. 554-55 and Mad. to Viz., *Idem*, 14th Oct., *Idem*, PP. 556-557.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XV, PP. 37-38 ff.

Chief had been able to resume charge of the settlement. Capt. Bruce was accordingly directed to return to Aska. The mutineers subsequently dispersed of their own accord and Gajapati Deo, who had ostensibly exerted himself to protect the English prisoners from violence, was reinstated in the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Zamindari by the Madras Government, as a reward for his somewhat doubtful services on the occasion."

(Vide *the Ganjam Manual*, P. 114 f.)

The following note is found in the *District Gazetteer*, *Vizagapatam*, (P. 257)—

"At the end of the 18th century, the Gunupur Tāluk was taken by force from Jeypore by Nārāyaṇa Deo of Kimeḍi[1]. He gave it to his brother, Pratāpa Deo[2], but the latter was eventually driven out by Sītārāma Rāju, *Dewan* of Vizianagaram, with the help of the Company's troops. Finding himself unable to manage it, Sītārāma Rāju gave it back to Jeypore after he had held it three years."

It should be noted here that the Tāluks of Gunupur and Hiramaṇḍalam were relinquished on payment of Company's dues. The report says that the offer of Rs. 25,000/- by Jagannātha Deo, *rājā* of Kimeḍi, for the Guṇupuram and Hiramaṇḍalam *Parganas*,

[1] See the *Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit*, dated 12th September 1784. (note Rāmacandra Deva (II) of Jayapur was on the *gādi* from 1781 to 1825) (vide the *Vizag District Gazetteer*, P. 264). Previous to him his father Vikrama Deo (I) (1758—81 A. D.) "assembled a force in the Rāyagaḍa valley" in 1775 "and threatened to support the malcontents" for which reason Richard Mathews came with the *sibbandis* of the Vizianagaram *Rājā* against Jaipur. Thereafter, Vikrama Deo surrendered in 11-3-1775. A. D.

[2] Pratāpa Deo, mentioned in the report as a brother of Nārāyaṇa Deo of Kimeḍi, may be the son of Jagannātha Deo, a cousin of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, as shown in our genealogical table.

might be accepted and the countries delivered to his charge as these were obtained by Sītārām Rāju as late as 1771.

In this connection the Committee of Circuit observed as follows—

"We conceive the lands themselves an unalienable" and "it appears to us to be not only inconsistent with the submission due to the supremacy of the Company's Government that the Zamindars should privately alienate any part of the lands of their Zamindaries, but further the allowing of such a practice would be no less repugnant to principles of sound policy."

A few years before this, Colonel Peach's Bengal detachment quitted the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Zamindari in the 12th of December, 1768, and marched southwards to Vizagapatam; but they had hardly left before disturbances commenced. Nārāyaṇa Deo, the so called rebel Zamindar, returned and compelled Rāmajōgi Pātra, whom he had put in as *Dewan* or Manager of the estate, to retire to Jalmur. He, at the same time, began intriguing with the Mahrāṭṭas in Cuttack, inviting them to attack the English, and promising the co-operation of Sītārām Rāz, the Nizām's former *Faujdār*, and of Bhīma Deo of Vijayanagar (Baḍakhimuṇḍi). In the meanwhile, dissensions had arisen amongst the Maharāṭṭas, and on the 24th of January, 1769, the Resident received a letter from Mr. Alleyn, the English Agent at Cuttack, informing him that Ganni Sāmbāji would be unable to make a raid into Ganjam, as Jānōji had given positive orders to his generals and *Sardārs* acting under the *Faujdār* that they were by no means to molest the English,

and were to obey no orders emanating from Ganni Sāmbāji."[1]

After a few years, the Pārlākhimuṇḍi *Pāiks* attacked the English soldiers at Vizagapatam which we have stated above and about which incident the *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*, at pages 47-48, gives the following details—

"On the 3rd of October, 1780, a serious mutiny occurred among the *sepoys* at Vizagapatam. To meet the invasion of the Carnatic by Haidar Āli of Mysore, the Government had ordered four companies of these troops to embark for Madras. The result is described as follows by the news writer in Hickey's Gazette[2]—

'We are informed that the *sepoy* troops lately draughted at Vizagapatam, having all their arms, accoutrements, baggage etc., ready to embark on board the '*Sartine*' figure and some other vessels, then in that harbour in order to carry them to Madras. On the day of their intended departure, the Governor of Vizag invited all the military officers to dine with him and the Council. The troops were to embark that afternoon. The gentlemen made a cheerful repast, drank success to the British arms, and sat in company with all the tranquility of mind imaginable, but were soon alarmed by an uncommon noise. They sent some of their servants out to learn the cause, and was soon informed that the troops draughted for Madras had mutinined, and were endeavouring to force those *sepoys* who were to remain behind in the barracks to join them, which they refused. This account soon brought their officers out, who instantly

[1] *Ganjam Manual*, P. 95

[2] Hickey's *The Bengal Gazette*, 21st Oct., 1780; and Cotton's *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras*, PP. 354—55 ff.

resumed their commands, and ordered them immediately to march down to the beach and go on board. This they refused, one and all. The Grenadiers levelled their pieces, took aim, discharged a volley, and killed every officer on the spot. They took, the Frenchman. They plundered the Governor's house and factory, and booted from the treasury, plate and every other valuable that night, took the civilians out the next morning, tied them, and marched them off with them, with an intent to carry their prisoners to Hyder Ally, whom they themselves intended to join. After they had marched several miles from Vizag, they untied the Governor, Mr. Cosamajor, and the rest of the gentlemen, and told them they might return to Vizag if they pleased. Ensign Butler, the only surviving officer on that establishment and who very fortunately had been on a visit to a friend at some distance from the settlement, finding what had happened drew a detachment of the remaining troops the next morning with a few field pieces, marched at the head of them in quest of the deserters, came up with them, and discharged a few rounds of grapeshot amongst them, which brought several of them to the ground. Some ran off, leaving the most part of their arms behind and the remainder he took prisoners, marching them in the front with the field pieces in their rear'.[1]

The report further mentions :

'The Zamindar of Pārlākimeḍi, then under surveillance at Vizagapatam, was strongly suspected of having engineered this outbreak; but he boldly claimed to have saved the lives of the other Europeans in

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[1] Mr. J. J. Cotton's *Inscriptions on Madras Tombs.* See also Wilson's *History of Madras Army*, ii, 18, 19 and Mill's *History*, IV—200.

the station and was eventually given back his estate as a reward for his doubtful service'.

Henry Cosamajor, who succeeded Alexander Davidson as the chief of the settlement operations, had successfully looked after the revenue affairs in the Chicacole Sarcar.[1] In the same report of the 5th of May, 1780[2], we also find the correspondence which deals with the troubles appeared in Kimeḍi. In 1774, the Kimeḍi Zamindary was sequestrated. Her *Rājā* Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo was kept under surveillance at Vizagapatam and the affairs were managed by Arz Beg on behalf of the Company for six years. But, after relase of Gajapati Deo, the Government ordered :—

"East India Company

Protection Settlement, Kimuṇḍi area.

Be it known to all whom it may concern :

As the reigning Zamindar of Kimidi, to the farmers of *Perganahs* of the hills and the sons of the country, to the persons in the army and all others belonging to the Kimidy country that Jagannāth Deo, the second son of Narain Deo and brother to Gazapathy Narain Deo, the present Zamindar of Kimidy, is considered as under the knowledge of the English East India Company's protection and this rule is granted to the said Jagannāth Deo for his safety and it is agreed also with Gazapathy Narain Deo, the reigning Zamindar, that there shall be allowed to Jagannāth Deo the monthly sum of six-hundred rupees from the revenues of Kimidy country for the maintenance of the said Jagannāth Deo. Given under the seal of the honourable Company and my hand and seal as Chief of Vizagapatam.

Dated Vizagapatam, 25-11-1780 Sd. Illegible—Chief."

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1 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 11th April, 1780, *Rev. Cons.*, 15th Apl., Vol. 25, PP. 23—27.

2 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 11th April, 1780, *Rev. Cons.*, 15th Apl., Vol. 25, PP. 73—77.

Arz Beg's preponderant influence, first as a *Dewan* to Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo and later as Company's Manager, had given enough chance for gross mis-management of the country[1].

The Vizagapatam Council forthwith took drastic action against him and compelled him (Arz Beg) to leave Kimeḍi immediately and surrender himself[2]. After this, the Council at Vizagapatam recommended clemency in the case of Gajapati Deo who was supposed to have been loyal even during the famous Vazagapatam mutiny, as narrated above. Accordingly, the Madras Government directed Craufurd and Maxton, members of the Vizagapatam Council, to proceed to Kimiḍi to resort Gajapati Deo to his Zamindari. In this connection, a mass of correspondence took place between Madras and Vizagapatam.[3] After this long correspondence, the Madras Government, in its resolution in the 23rd of January, 1781, ordered Sitārāma Rāju to surrender the company's *sanad* and Government order for discharge of his duties.

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1 *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 30th May, 16th June, *Idem*, PP. 161—65.

2 *Vizag to Madras*, 13th Oct., 1780; *Rev. Cons.*, 3rd Nov., Vol. 25, PP. 532—34; Gajapati Deo to Vizagapatam, 12th Oct., PP. 584-85; *Vizag to Madras*, 24th Oct., PP. 589—91; Gajapati Deo to Vizag, 24th of October, 591-92; Resolution of the Government on the above, PP. 592-93 and Madras to Vizag, PP. 629—31; Johnson's Minute in *Rev. Cons.*, 5th of December, *Idem*, PP. 632—35; *Vizag to Madras*, 9th and 19th of December, *Idem*, PP. 636-37 and PP. 641-42 respectively; *Vizag to Madras*, 25th of November, *Idem*, 30th of December, 652—54; Gajapati Deo to Vizag, 24th of November, PP. 655-56; Gajagapati Deo to Vizag, 21st of December, *Idem*, 30th of Dec., *Idem*, PP. 656-57; Craufurd and Maxton to Vizag, 8th December, P. 659; Resolution of the Government thereon, P. 658 and *Madras to Vizag*. 23rd of January, 1781, Vol. 26, PP. 2-3 confirming Gajapati Deo in his Zamindari.

3 *Vizag to Madras*, 12th of February, 1781; *Rev. Cons.*, 15th of March, Vol. 26, P. 134.

After this, Sītārāma Rāz made a long representation to the Government in which he stated that he paid to the Government, 2,00,000 (Rs. two lakhs) as surety for Gajapati Deo of Kimiḍi; that he recovered only Rs. 50,000/- and that there were no safeguards for the recovery of the balance and the accruing interest. Upon this, the Government interposed their authority and directed Gajapati Deo to pay an annual sum of Rs. 10,000/- till the whole debt was cleared.

Meanwhile, a terrible famine appeared in Ganjam continuously for three years commencing from 1789 up to 1792. Many people perished during that period. This is called locally the *'Pāñca-Māṇiyā-Kantāra'* (ପାଞ୍ଚ-ମାଣିଆ-କନ୍ତାର) *viz.* the famine when the price of paddy was five *mānas* per rupee.

A second famine, equal to the first one, prevailed from 1799 to 1801. And a third, in between 1836 and 1839. Each havoc had continued for three years, reducing the population to a great extent. Probably, to assist the poor people before the first famine, Gajapati Deo repaired the *Mukhaśālā* of the temple of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara at Puruṇāpāṭanā in the year 1791. According to a stone inscription found in that temple, the work was completed on the 25th *aṅka* year of Gajapati Deo in the cyclic year 'Virodhikṛt' and in the Śaka year 1713, corresponding to the 25th of August, 1791 A. D. The titles used by Gajapati Deo in that inscription are similar to those used by his father.[1] It should be noted here that according to the *aṅka* reckoning, the famine cited above, commenced in the twentieth regnal year of Gajapati Deo which is equal to A. D. 1788-1789. In the 18th of November, 1795, Chatrapati Deo, the eldest son of Gajapati Deo, died at his prime age of twenty.

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[1] See page 172 above for the text of the inscription

There lived a brother of the then Zamindar of Jalantara (a neighbouring Zamindari), named Sāna-Pādasāha. After the death of his elder brother, he imprisoned the *Rāṇi* and her son with the help of the contemporary Zamindar of Tarlā, and himself occupied that estate for five years. But, in 1797, as he was driven away by the English, he took shelter at first in Jeypore and afterwards in Pārlākhimuṇḍi. He was a friend of Jagannātha Deo, the half brother of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo. These two *mutineers* intricated in a revolt at Gumsur by persuading the Zamindar of that Estate, Śrīkara Bhañja, to hold weapon against the English. As he was a powerful Zamindar of the district, many minor Zamindars joined him and started rebellion. Among them the Zamindars of Sānakhimuṇḍi, Baḍakhimuṇḍi, Dharākoṭa, Seragaḍa, etc. joined hands. But, their attempt was frustrated when Lt. Col. Smith, along with a troop of soldiers, was sent to Seragaḍa to suppress the rebellion. As the English used machine-gun, which was an unknown weapon in this locality, they were successfully crushed out. The Zamindar of Seragaḍa lost his life in that battle.

The court poet, Caitanya Rājaguru, composed a book in Sanskrit named the *Gaura Tāpinī* which mentions the 33rd *aṅka* year of Gajapati Mahārājā and also the cyclic year "Nala" (or Anala) and the month of Kārttika (corresponding to 1796, November). It is proved from this book that in 1796 Gajapati Deo was living in Pārlākimeḍi.

Jagannātha Deo (the half-brother of Gajapati Deo), the Ex-Zamindar of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, meanwhile, fled from Khimuṇḍī and joined with *Rājā* Śrīkarabhañja, whom the English planned to reduce by force. Although Gajapati Deo was living in a most

troubled period of calamities, he did not keep silent in extending his help to the learned court-poets whom his father used to patronize. From a book entitled *Anyāpadeśa-ślokāḥ**, the following verse may be quoted in this connection—

sakala-ripu-nṛpāṇāṃ bhīkarā-śūra-vṛtyā
kavi-nigadita-Pārlā-paṭṭaṇākṣyā=bhirāmā ।
Khimuḍi-janapadasthā-Gaṅga-vaṁśōdbhavānāṃ
Gajapati-nṛpatīnāṃ rājadhānī vabhūva ॥

From another book, named the *Cōrapañcāśikā*, the following verse proves that one Lakshmīnārāyaṇa Pātra was a writer of his court :—

Karaṇānvaya-saṁbhūtō
Khimuṇḍi-jana-saṁsthitaḥ ।
Lakṣmīnārāyaṇē Pātrē
likhitaṃ *Cōrapañcāśikāḥ* ॥

Probably, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Pātra was born in the family of *Bhiṣak* Vāsudeva Pātra, whose son, Gopinātha Pātra, wrote an *Alaṁkāra* in Sanskrit named *Kavi-cintāmaṇi* of which we have stated before. The famous astrologer and court-poet of his time is Caitanya Rājaguru whose Sanskrit verses testify his talent and poetic merit. A few specimen of the verses are quoted below :—

niṣṭhuraṃ vadati nīrada-vṛndē
Mānasaṃ pratiyayuḥ kalahaṁsāḥ ।
asti cēd=gatir=asaṁsaya-manyā
kaḥ sahēta dadatō'pi kaṭūktiḥ ॥

upakāra-samarthasya sahanīyā kaṭūktayaḥ ।
ambhōdasya ghanārambhē daṁbhōli-ninadā iva ॥

* It is an unpublished book composed by *Mantrivaracūḍāmaṇi* Bhuvanānanda of the 14th century A. D.

His brother, Gopinātha Tripāṭhi, whose designation is *Khāḍaṅgā*, was also a well reputed scholar. He studied the *Tantric* literature and wrote a book in Sanskrit called the *Kālikārcana-prakāśini* which has not yet been published. The following verse at the end of the book is quoted below:—

> Kauṇḍinya-kula-sambhūta Gōpīnātha Tripāṭhinā ।
> racitā Kālikādēvyā-yajanasya prakāśinī ॥

In another place of the same book, he writes—

> Kauṇḍinya-vaṁśōdbhava-Gōpinātha-
> Tripāṭhi-nāmā bhuvi bhūsurēṇa ।
> *Kālikārcana-prakaśini*-kṛtā
> .... ॥

He was wellversed in the system of worship of the goddess, Dakṣiṅa Kālikā, as proved from the following verse—

> Tripāṭhi-vaṁśōdbhava-Gōpinātha
> Dēvyārcanē śuddha-cētaḥ susaṁsthaḥ ।

We have already discussed about the poetic skill of Lokanātha Tripāthi, the author of the *Kavikaṇṭha-hāra*. Many *Paṇḍits* and poets thrived in the family of *Rājagurus* whom the *Rājàs* of Khimuṇḍi have lavishly granted lands in the villages of Mālyāpura, Sajjanāpura, Mukundapura, Naiḍu Poluru, Rāutapura, Madhusūdanapura, Champāpura, Muktāpura, Devadalā, Gurāṇḍi, Katalakaiṭhā, Māraḍikoṭā, Sorlaṇḍā, Khiṅgā, Dasarathapura etc. in Pārlākhimuṇḍi Taluk. Out of these lands, the donees endowed a large portion for maintenance of some Viṣṇu Temples, built by them in Kerāṇḍi and Pārlākhemuṇḍi and also at Bṛindāvana-ḍhāma. A genealogical table of this family is given in the next page.

Genealogy of the *Rājaguru*-family of Pārlākhimuṇḍi

- 1. Gopinātha
  - 2. Gadādhara
    - 3. Madhu Tripāṭhi
      - 4. Padmanābha *Rājaguru*
        - 5. Kriṣṇa *Rājaguru* (Born in A. D. 1738)
          - 6. † Caitanya *Rājaguru* (Born in A. D. 1758)
            - 7. Harihara *Rājaguru* (Born in A. D. 1786)
              - Padmanābha
              - Jagannātha
              - * Raghunātha *Rājaguru* (Born in A. D. 1823)
                - Narasimha *Rājaguru* (Born in A. D. 1856)
                  - Chandraśekhara
                    - Lakṣminārāyaṇa
                  - Dinavandhu
                    - Kruṣṇa
                    - Chaitanya
                - Syāmasundara *Rājaguru* (the author of the *Pravandhāvali*.) (Born in 1863)
                  - Nilamaṇi (adopted)
              - 9. *Rāmacandra *Rājaguru* (Born in A. D. 1832)
                - 10. Madhusūdana *Rājaguru* (a great Sanskrit scholar of Orissa and a staunch Vaiṣṇava) (Born in A. D. 1850)
                  - 11. Harikrishna *Rājaguru* (Born in A. D 1887)
                    - 12. Satyanārāyaṇa *Rājaguru* (Born in A. D. 1903, the author of this book)
                  - Gopinātha
                    - ** Jagannātha
                  - Rādhāgovinda
                    - ** Rāmachandra
                  - Rādhākrushṇa
                    - **Raghunātha
            - Bisvambhara *Dānādhyakṣa* (Born in A. D. 1791)
            - 8. Banamāli *Sadasya* (Born in A. D. 1796)
          - Nityānanda *Dānādhyakṣa* (Born in A. D. 1763)
          - Gopinātha *Khāḍaṅgā* (Born in A. D. 1767)
          - Syāmasundara *Sadasya* (Born in A. D. 1770)
    - Nilakaṇṭha (his descendants left Pārlākhimuṇḍi and settled in Nawaraṅgapur in Korāput Dt.)
    - Murāri
      - Bhagavāna
    - Lokanātha Tripāṭhi (a great poet and the author of the *Kavikaṇṭhahāra*)

† He is the author of some astronomical treatises like the *Jātakārṇava* etc. His notes in a palm-leaf book supplies some historical facts which we have cited in this book. According to another version, he is the brother of Kriṣṇa *Rājaguru* (No. 5)

* Harihara Rājaguru's sons, Padmanābha and Jagannātha, died in the early age and before the birth of Rāmacandra. Harihara Rājaguru adopted his brother's son, Raghunātha, who assumed the title of *Rājaguru*. After he was adopted, Rāmacandra was born and after a few years Harihara Rājaguru died. The brothers, Rāmacandra and Raghunātha, quarreled for the office of Rājaguru. Finally, the formar got the title of *Rājaguru* and their property was divided into two equal parts.

** The names of other brothers are not given for want of space.

Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo was defeated by the Company's troops in 1768 as we have already described and his son, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, was recognized by the English as the Zamindar of Pārlā-khimuṇḍi. But still then, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva's *āṅka* year was used up to the time of his death which happened in or about 1779. From an Oriya copper-plate grant by Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva of the 29th *āṅka* year*, we understand that he (Gajapti N. Deva) definitely came to the *gādi* in A. D. 1770-71. Because, according to the reckoning of the *aṅka* year in the Rāj-family of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, the years 1, 6, 10 and all followed by 0 and 6 are to be ommited. As such, the 29th *aṅka* is falling in A. D. 1794, according to this copperplate inscription. It leads us to assign the year 1770-71 as the year of accession of Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva.

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* The text of the inscripation is given below :—

1. (Figures of a conch and a disk) Vira Śri-Virādhiviravara Śri Śri Śri Gaja—
2. patinārāyaṇadēva-mahārājāṅkara
3. samasta 29 aṅka Ānanda-nāma-saṁvatsara-Mēśa(ṣa)tā(di) 16 nē Vaiśākha-kṛ-
4. 10 śukravārē* Śri Gōpināthaṅku devā paṭṭā paṭā-nirṇṇaya ā-
5. ṁbha maṭha Gārābandha sadāvarti talē Gaṇḍāhāṭi-muṭhā saṁvandhara
6. Lakṣ[m]ipura-grāma bāhāralā (?) karidēlu jē ē grāma-hādu pūrva-
7. ku ku(kṛ)ṣṇa-sāgararu āsibā gaḍā [I] paścimaku gaḍā [I] uttaraku ē grāma—
8. ra muṇḍāli [I] dakṣiṇaku mērukā-ḍhēpara cāri-hādurē thibāra
9. pāḍuṣaḍḍhya (?) ubhā kari sukhētra kari jala-sthala-nidhi-nikhāta-kā-
10. ṣṭa-pā[ṣā]ṇa-chhāya (ō) pachhāyā-padara-paṅkāla-daṇḍā-ga (ō) patha āsi-mānta ka[ri]
11. jāvata cand[r]ārkē bhas[m]āntakē bhōga kari sadāvarta calāuthi—
12. ba [I] ēthirē āna avadhi nāhiṁ Śri-Śri-Śri saṁvata [II] Sva data (ttā) di (dvi)—
13. guṇaṃ pūṇyaṃ para-dattānupālana(ne) [I] paradattāpahārēṇa sva-dattaṃ
14. nisphalaṃ bhavēt [II]

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* The corresponding date is the 25th April, 1794 A. D., Friday. Vide Swami-Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, P. 390 ff.

172 The temple of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara, on the bank of the river Mahendratanayā, was built by some Gaṅga-kings long before the capital of the Khimuṇḍi Gaṅgas was shifted from Guḍarikaṭaka to Puruṇāpāṭaṇā (old-capital city) which is now known as Patapatam in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. The god, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara (Śiva), was regarded as an important deity of the Gaṅga family of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. So, the *mukhaśālā* of the temple was constructed by Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva in A. D. 1791 at the instructions of his father, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva. The text of a stone inscription, found in this temple and read by me from the original, is given below :—

1. Vīra-Śrī-Gajapati-Gauḍēśvara-nava-kōṭi-Karṇṇāṭa-Kalavaragēśvara-Śrī-vīrādhivīravara-Śrī-Gajapati-Chhatrapati-Jagannāthanārāyaṇadēva-mahā[rājā]
2. śrī-śubhaṃ=astu ॥ Vīra-Śrī-Gajapati-Gauḍēśvara-nava-kōṭi-Karṇṇāṭa-Kalavaragēśvara—
3. Śrī-vīra-vīrādhivīra-Śrī-Gajapati-Chhatrapati-Śrī-Gajapatinārāyaṇadēva-mahārājā—
4. ṅkara 25 pañciśi *aṅka* Virōdhikṛta-saṁvatsara Bhādrava-kṛṣṇa-ēkādaśī-guru-dina* ē ṣu(mu)-
5. khasyā(śā)lacha(stha) dēula nirmāṇa hēlā ॥ 112 ॥† Śrī-Gajapatinārāyaṇadēva kṛtya ē
6. gata śakāvdāḥ 1713 [॥]
7. Rājāṅkara jyēṣṭa-putra-Gajapatidēva-mahārājā
8. Śrī-Śrī-Mahārājāṅka ājñā-pramāṇē Śrī-Nī—
9. lakaṇṭhēśvaraṅka muku(kha)syā(śā)lichha dēula nirvā(mā)ṇa—
10. rē ēhara paṇḍā diē niyukta viṣayarē

* The corresponding date is the 25th August, 1791 A. D., Thursday. Vide Swami Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, P. 385 ff.

† What this number 112 denotes, is not known. If, however, it is taken to be an *era* of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi-family, then it must have been started from A. D. 1679. See Page 102, above.

Gajapati Deo, the Zamindar of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, to whom the English had recognized as Zamindar after the death of his father, Nārāyaṇa Deo, in 1770, was declared to have been forfeited his Zamindari in 1797 for repeated breach of his engagements and also for disobeying the orders of the Collector of Chicacole. The management of the entire Zamindari was afterwards placed under the Collector and Durgā Rāj, a relative of the Khimuṇḍi-family, who was appointed manager in 1799.

Two years before, *i. e.*, in 1797, the Zamindar of Tekkali died. His name was Rāmakṛiṣṭṇa Jagadeva. He was the last survivor of a long and nobel race, the Kadaṁba-Vaṁśa ; and his estate, which had been for 700 years in the possession of the same family,[1] was converted into a *Hāveli* or Government land and managed by the Company.

"During the years, 1799 and 1800 disturbances in Kimiḍi took place concurrently with those in Gumsur, in consequence of which both the Chicacole and Tekkli *Hāvelis* suffered material injury. The Zamindar, Gajapati Deo, and his son had been sent to Masulipatam; but this step did not have the effect of quietening the insurgents, who, besides laying waste the country, attacked the detachments posted at Vāraṇasi and Kimeḍi. The former was compelled by the peons of the Dōrātanams to retreat out of the Zamindari, and the latter to capitulate on condition of being allowed to retire with their arms. After these successes, the insurgents proceeded to take

[1] It is necessary to note here that the Kadambas of Kaliṅga were known from epigraphical sources since the 11th or 10th century A. D. Therefore, they were living in this part of the country for at least 700 years till the time of Gajapati Deo of Pārlākhimuṇḍi.

(Vide *The Ganjam District Manual*, P. 131 f.)

possession of the Tekkali *Hāveli* and to burn and plunder the villages[1] at will. Jagannātha Deo, the brother of Gajapati Deo, for whom he had been removed from the Zamindari in 1780, had meanwhile joined the insurgents who numbered a body 5,000 strong. 8 Companies of Native Infentary, detachments of cavalry and a brigade of six pounders, were sent against the insurgents. After some delay, the rebels were finally reduced by Col. Vigors with the assistance and advice of Durgā Rāj. During the course of the operations, Lt. Youngson, a British officer, was taken prisoner, and carried off into the *Māliyas*. His release was finally effected.[2]

As a reward for the services rendered by him, Durgā Rāj was appointed Manager, and for 13 years his administration of the area was most successful. In 1802, Gajapati Deo died, and his son, Puruṣōttama Nārāyaṇa Deo, succeeded him.

Upon the death of the latter (Puruṣōttama Nārāyaṇa Deo) on the 24th of December, 1805, the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Estate was managed by Durgā Rāj (*Yuvarāja*) who was about 46 years old at that time. Puruṣōttama Deo's *S'rāddha* ceremony is being performed in the *Kārtika-S'ukla-7th tithi.* The settlement report, regarding Tekkali and Chicacole, was prepared on the 30th of May, 1803. In that report, the Board

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[1] Not only that this disturbance was confined to North Ganjam but also extended to the west of -Khimuṇḍi. For example, we quote the following :—

"At the end of the 18th century, the Taluk of Guṇpur was taken by force from Jaypore by Nārāyaṇa Deo of Kimeḍi (Vide *Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit*, Dated 12th, September, 1784). He gave it to his brother, Pratāpa Deo ; but the latter was eventually driven out by Sītārāma Rāzu, Diwan of Vizianagram, with the help of the Company's troops. Finding himself unable to manage it, Sītārāma Rāzu gave it back to Jaypore after he had held it for three years. (*Vizagapatam Gazetteer*, P. 257).

[2] Vide *The Ganjam District Manual*, P. 131 ff

recommended that the Zamindari of Kimeḍi should be transferred to Nārāyaṇa Deo (Puruṣōttama Deo). Revenue derived from salt, sugar and *abkāri* in the Zamindari should be resumed by the Government. In this connection, the following extracts of the records, kept in the Ganjam Collector's office, may be quoted :—

"Kimeḍi—The Zamindari has been transferred from Jagannātha Deo to his brother, Gajapati, and the former was given a pension of Rs. 12,000/- a year which was afterwards reduced to Rs. 5,000/- by Mr. Scott, Collector of Chicacole. Gajapati was confined by the Government (1797-98) and Jagannātha Deo, fearing a similar fate would befall him, wandered from place to place. He was ordered to appear before the Collector ; and on his refusal, a reward of Rs. 10,000/- was offered for his apprehension. When he took refuge at Suraḍā, he was captured and the reward was distributed between the Zamindar of Suraḍā and the military peons. He was treated as a state prisioner and was given an allowance of Rs. 3/- per day.

After this, he was transferred to Malulipatnam in the month of August, 1804. Then, his family got some pension from the Government.

In 1805, Pārlākhimuṇḍi was kept under the Court of wards, as Puruṣōttama Nārāyaṇa Deo's son was only 12 months old at the time of his father's death. Jagannātha Deo, who joined the Gumsur *Rājā* in his rebellion, and for whose capture the Government offered a reward of Rs. 10,000/- was captured and delivered as stated before, to the English by the then Zamindar of Suraḍā in 1804 and sent as a prisoner to Masulipatam.

According to a tradition, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo who was imprisoned at Masulipatam by the English had a quarrel with his half-brother, the above mentioned Jagannātha Deo. The noblemen of Pārlākhimuṇḍi participated themselves in two groups. One group wanted Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo return back to his *gādi*, while the other group opposed to it. It is said that the Oriya Brāhmaṇas joined the latter group for which reason the *S'yāsanas* (villages), previously granted to them, were cancelled and substituted by another set of *Syāsanas*, inferior in fertility. The slogan goes:

'usunā-dhāna-gajā ।
Gajapati-rajā ॥'

It means that Gajapati would come to the *gādi* if boiled paddy would germinate.

A contemporary report, during the time of the Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, records:

"Kimeḍi has been long subject to the family of Nārāina Das,[1] descended from the *Rājā* of Jagannāut, who was formerly sovereign over these countries, and from whom it is said to have separated on their father's nominating a natural son to the succession. Moving southward with a numerous train, it conquered and established itself in Kimeḍi, as another brother did at the same time in Vizianagar in the Ichapur country. The succession is hereditary and their people regard them as the offspirng of a deity. Owing to this opinion and its warlike character, the family was never entirely reduced by the Mohamedans, although we hear little of it with certainty until the time of the late Rajah Jagannāut Nārāyaṇa Deo, who was engaged in continual wars and generally

[1] It is a mistake for 'Nārāyaṇa Deo'

with success. At last the *Soubah* of the Deccan having instigated him to disturb the Company's possessions, his country was reduced by Colonel Peach on his return from Hyderabad, and himself and his family obliged to take flight into the mountains, from whence, after frequent descents he again possessed of Kimeḍi. Being afterwards driven out, he retired to Golgonda, and soon after, deputed his natural son, Jagannātha Deo to negotiate with Rāma Jōgi, the establishment of that favorite child in the Rājahship, but the manager declined the business, regarding the succession as the right of Gajapati Deo, who upon the death of Nārrāin Deo, who had lived for some time in great misery and dread of being taken by interesting Sītārām Rāz and his exertions at Vizagapatam, he obtained the Zamindary of Kimeḍi for Gazapathy.

The commencement of this young man's administration was marked by the fate of his unfortunate friend, delivered into the hands of Sītārām Rāz, who besides a personal pique, considered his abilities as the greatest obstacle to his own designs and influence over Kimeḍi. Under the imputation of misconduct and debt, Rāma Jogi was imprisoned at Vizianagaram, where he soon after expired and not without appearance that gave ground for a suspicion of poison.

In requital of the above assistance, Gajapati is said to have afterwards made over the *Purgannahs* of Gonipuram (Guṇupur) and Hiramaṇḍalam to the Puspatti family; but, the schemes of the latter upon the country at large not meeting with the success expected, it endeavoured to effect their completion by means of Arzu Beg, the Kimeḍi minister, and a

creature of its own recommendation, which, when the *Rājā* perceived, he resolved on removing Arzu Beg and appointing his own uncle, Pratāp Deo, in his room; whereupon the former retired to Vizagapatam.

This family arrangement not being approved, Gajapathi was directed to attend at Vizagapatam. On his disregarding this summon, Mr. Ensign Wottern was sent with a party of *sepoys* to Kimeḍi, probably to enforce the above, but it should seem without any harass, or coercive orders, when, owing partly to the warm confidence of the officer, misled by an interested *dubash*, and partly to apprehension and haughtiness of spirit of the *Rājā* and his followers, the European and his attendants were all laid dead at the *cutcherry*, and after skirmishing a few days to cover the retreat of his family and treasure, Gajapati fled into the hills, from whence he continued for a long time to molest the country.[1]

Jagannātha Deo was appointed to Kimeḍi under the tuition of Arzu Beg, who, as the youth was idle and dissipated, was without control and applied, if report says true, the revenues to his own purposes. The country remained under this arrangement until the mutiny of the *sepoys* at Vizagapatam in 1780 A. D., where Gajapati, having obtained forgiveness, had some time resided. The ringleader of the mutineers having the gentlemen in his power, and afterwards liberating them without injury, Gajapati laid claim to the merit of saving their lives; though many strongly suspected that he was himself no inconsiderable mover of that unfortunate affair. In reward, however, of this

[1] *Extract from the Guide to the Records of the Ganjam District from 1774 to 1835*, Vol. 730.

dubious service, Kimeḍi was restored to him. According to the official records, reinstatement of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo took place on the 28th of October, 1780 A. D. His brother, being recalled, had a pension of 600 rupees monthly for about 20 months, during which period Arzu Beg had been continued in office, the Kists falling in arrears, and the minister displeased probably at the independent temper and interference of his master, representing that it was not occasioned by his subjects, the *Rājā* was recalled, and directed as the last disagreeable alternative, to empower his brother to manage the estate for two years, Arzu Beg and two other black men becoming securities. The inability of Jagannātha Deo being very soon evident, these securities were permitted to make the collections, divided for that purpose, and from that time they acted under the character of renters. The term of his suspension being at an end, Gajapati Deo has lately returned and taken charge again without being embarrassed as before with the interference of Arzu Beg, who died during his rentership. So that, although the character of the *Rājā* does not warrant sanguine expectations of regularity, yet as separate interests and division of authority exist no longer, it is probable the country will experience an easier management, and the company's payments be more correctly attended to. For though Gajapati is arrogant and a man of violent passions, he appears by no means destitute of abilities. His children are two sons and two daughters, and his principal wife is of the family of Bāhubalendra.

Gajapati expresses a great desire to resume Gownapuram[1] and Heramaṇḍalam, which, he asserts,

[1] The Present Guṇpur in the Koraput District

were taken from him by compulsion and artifice, and were not of his own free gift. For being at that time a youth, Arzu Beg, Narahari and Kurmano, three head men of his *cutcherry*, upon his obstinate refusal to sign the deeds of transfer, forged his signature and forwarded them to Śītārām Rāz, who immediately took possession, in which he tacitly submitted, fearing the extra-ordinary power and influence of the Zamindary, and the Viziaram Rāz and Jagannāth Rāz coming o Kimiḍi upon business, surrounded his house with 500 men; alarmed at which, he fled into the hills, and after his departure they compelled his servants to make out a sannad giving Hiramaṇḍalam to Viziaram Rāz. Upon this representation of Gajapati, I beg to remark that Gonupuram was originally a part of Nandapuram, but forcibly taken by Narain Deo, and that Sītārām's restitution of it to Vikrama Deo can be considered in no other light than restoring it to the lawful owner. But, with regard to Hiramaṇḍalam, if the above assertions are true and it is thought proper to restore it to him, he should pay for it at least the sum of 8,000 rupees and even then, he will be no loser ; as I am convinced the village *cadjans* sent to me are untrue or the country under its present management does not flourish as formerly, the ancient value being 12,000 rupees and by average only 8,600. Though I must think as the *Paraganah* is the very key to Kimeḍi and being divided from all the Vizianagaram lands, that it might with propriety be annexed to the *Havaily*. The country of Kimeḍi is surrounded with mountains, the vallies extensive and very fertile, having advantage to tanks, rivers and abundant dews, but the climate is so extremely unhealthy that it proves fatal to most strangers who

reside here during or after the rainy season. It is bounded on the east by Suriah[1] and Tekkali on the north, by the lofty hills of Savara people on the west, by these of Palaconda and Corupaum[2], and on the south by the Chicacole *Havaily.* It's greatest length from east to west is about 25 *coses* and from north to south, 15 *coses* including the ranges of hills that intersect it in some parts and are its boundaries in others.

It is ganerally believed, there are mines of gold in the country, north-east from Kimeḍi called Mahendramallu[3], as some of the finest variety of that metal was brought from thence, and was probably picked up in the torrents that come from the mountains, but on this subject, they are extremely secret, pretending to have a method of purifying the gold that comes to them from the lower regions. To deter any from going in search of those mines, they relate dreadful tales of the dangers surrounding a mountain far inland, which contains water that transmutes all metals into gold.

The fort at the capital was formerly of some strength but is now in ruins. The hill forts which are to restrain the wild Savaras are nothing more than slight walls of earth in the centre of valleys and fenced round with hills and almost impassable jungles. They are garrisoned by the Goḍial caste, a race of the hill-people who are reduced and civilized and pay a yearly *Nazer* to the *Rājā.*

The will of the *Rājā* is the law, nor did I hear of any court of Justice.

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[1] Probably Surangi

[2] Read Kurpam

[3] Mahendra *Māliah*

In the form of my English account of Kimeḍi, I have adopted a different mode from that of the Zamindary, because the produce was forthcoming in every place and the account more concise though equally complete as the former. I have not been able to obtain village accounts for the same years as of the Zamindary, nor a regular and complete succession of those I have taken, either because they were concealed and lost in the late changes or carried away or buried when the hill people or the fires frequent during the dry season, destroy everything before them.

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By conversing with inhabitants, former Tahsildars and *cutcherry* servants of Kimeḍi, I understand that its revenue, in favourable times, is nearly three lacs of rupees, and never less than one and half.

But, the average of the accounts sent to me, calculated upon years when rice was at a great price, amounts to only 1,87,051 rupees, which make no doubt their authenticity. The deficiency may be partly accounted for by the many changes and variety of interests that have occurred in the management, disturbing the quiet and confidence of the people, who have been long without a fixed head or any encouragement to labour.

The *Rājā's* accounts of his disbursements are to be considered as a display of his family expenses formerly and not as actual present payments; for, I imagine he does not spend at this time more than one half the amount here given.

After this, the report gives a detailed account of the expenditure of the Estate as quoted below :—

	Rs.
Household expenses	27,400-0-0
Support of his sons and mother	3,200-0-0
Pāntaloo and *cutcherry*	12,000-0-0
Tahsildar's wages	2,000-0-0
Presents to headmen	5,000-0-0
Presents to Savara people	3,000-0-0
Expenses of his equipage	7,500-0-0
Expenses on feasts and charities	8,000-0-0
Private charities	2,400-0-0
Repairing tanks	5,000-0-0
Total	75,500-0-0
Pay to 3,000 armed men	35,000-0-0
Baṭṭā to *Sepoys*	6,000-0-0
Total	41,000-0-0
Pay to 300 armed peons	35,000-0-0
Baṭṭā to *Sepoys*	6,000-0-0
Kists to Company	45,000-0-0
Discharge of balance	20,000-0-0
Part of debt to Vizianagaram	10,000-0-0
Private debts	22,400-0-0
To his brother's allowance	7,200-0-0
Total	1,45,600-0-0

Abstract

House and *cutcherry* expenses	75,500-0-0
Military debts	41,000-0-0
Kists and debts	1,45,600-0-0
Total	2,62,100-0-0

INCOME

	Rs.
Muṭṭhās or small *Paraganahs*	1,49,604-4-9
Hill-Forts under the Goḍial people	6,890-0-0
The *shrotriyam* from *Agrahārams* ···	10,669-12-4
Customs	19,887-6-10
Total	1,87,051-7-11

A substantial portion of Chicacole was within the limits of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. With regard to Śrīkūrmam, a report says:—

Śrī-Kūrmam was under Kimeḍi; but, annexed by the *Nawabs* to the *Haveli*. It was afterwards restored to Kimeḍi and again alienated as a *Makhāsā* to Dharma Rao, a Mahrāṭṭa Brāhmaṇa, who quitting the country, gave it into the possession of the *Tahsildār* Puspatti with whom it was since remained.

From the Proceedings of the Chief and Council, Ganjam Military Departments, we get the following statement[1] :—

From 18-2-1792 to 7-3-1792 A. D. Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo represented that during the life time of his father he held the Rājāship of the country; but his father quarelled with the Company and left it and died. Jagannātha's brother, Gajapati, obtained the Rājāship from Vizaya Rām Rāz and settled the *Jamābandi* for Kimeḍi for Rs. 60,000/-. Mr. Wynch, the Governor at Madras, sent a *Sanad* and *Cowel* to the petitioner and increased the *Jamābandi* to Rs. 80,000/- which he paid to the Company. Gajapati

[1] Proceedings of the Chief and Council, Ganjam Military Department, Vol. 721, Page Nos. 107—10, 122—35, 148, 168-69, 177—81 and 205.

got into the favour of Mr. Casamajor, who not enquiring into his conduct, gave him the Rājāship and the petitioner was dethroned and given a monthly allowance of Rs. 600/- and a village. Mr. Williams restored the Zamindari to him for a yearly rental of Rs. 1,60,000/-. Mr. Russell was not pleased with the petitioner and leased it out to renters. The petitioner's prayer was that it might be restored to him (several petitions were sent on 25-2-72, 22-2-72, 8-3-72 and 7-3-72 by Jagannātha Deo to the Government). The above petition of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo was sumbitted in the month of February, 1772 A. D.[1]

From the records, it is also found that the monthly allowance of Rs. 600/- fixed by the company in favour of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo was continued till August, 1797, when the question was reopened along with the reduction of establishment in Kimeḍi. Until then, he was practically interned at Pārlākhimuṇḍi. After his petition was rejected, he seems to have been much discouraged and sought permision for going on a pilgrimage to Puri-Jagannātha in December, 1797; but, that too was rejected.[2] He was released in 1807, February. Early next year (1798), the Government received several reports regarding Gajapati Deo's irregular conduct for which reason the Government ordered a military detachment to halt there till further orders. Finally, in June, 1798, Gajapati Deo was confined. Soon after this great disturbances took place. The hill-tribes joined hands with the *Pāiks* of the plain country. To control the situation, Mr. Russell was sent to Kimeḍi.

[1] Between the years 1792 and 1796, Gajapati Deo remitted Rs. 86,000/- to the English towards *pesh-cash* (*Ganjam District Manual*, P. 132.)

[2] Mad., Rec, Vol. 741, Page Nos. 11, 200, 209

186 With regard to the mutiny at Pārlākhimuṇḍi, Mr. G. E. Russell, the senior Member of the Board of Revenue and afterwards a Member of the Council of the Madras Presidency, made a detailed report regarding the affairs at Pārlākhimuṇḍi taluk giving also the history of the Rāj family as quoted below :—

"It will be necessary to go back to February, 1796, when Gajapati Deo's continuously resisting the orders of the Collector, Mr. A. Scott, and neglecting to pay his tribute, obliged the Government to take up arms against him. The issue of proclamations and warning the inhabitants of the 'penalties they were to incur by aiding him in his opposition to the authority of the Government, and requiring all the rentors and others to refrain from paying him any revenue', appears to have had little effect, but when the force under Col. Muat (a detachment of European artillary), was ready to arrive, he anticipated the consequences of it and retired to Chicacole, whither he had been summoned by the Collector with the view of effecting an adjustment of his balances. The amount due by him on account in the current year was Rs. 82,203/- and as his mis-conduct had rendered it necessary to enforce his obedience by the equipment of a large detachment, it was considered that he should be called upon to pay the expense thereby incurred, amounting to Rs. 14,398/- per mensem. Mr. Scott was of opinion that he had the means of meeting these demands, but, as there appeared to be no prospect of his making any arrangement for their liquidation, which could with propriety be accepted, his person was placed under a military guard and there being reason to fear that his son Puruṣōttama Nārāyaṇa Deo and his cousin Doorga

Rauze, who had accompanied him from Khimeḍi, and the latter of whom was known to possess great influence over the town peons, might endeavour to raise disturbances, they were also confined at the same time, and the Collector was directed to take the administration of the revenues into his own hands. The difficulty of obtaining good servants, and the total want of local information were serious obstacles to such an undertaking, but, though little was collected, the country continued quiet until December, when Gajapati Deo's adherents, finding that the Government were resolved to persevere in the line of policy they have adopted against him, excited the people to revolt. Mr. Scott, writing on the 21st* of January, 1799, says, "It is no longer the inroads of the hill people for the sake of plunder that are to be guarded against, but considerable bodies of well-armed men who burn and destroy everything where they go, and what makes me more at a loss how to act, is that no intimation has been given of any real or pretended grievance which they wish to be redressed, or what object they have in view. To the time, when I last addressed you, I have heard of no instance of their approaching near those villages where *sepoys* happened to be stationed; but it has been otherwise since, and this circumstance makes it necessary to keep the *sepoys* together in larger bodies, lest any of their parties should be cut off; although by doing so the crop now lying upon the ground is left exposed and the inhabitants everywhere abandon both that and their villages to be burnt."

In the following month (February), the state of affairs assumed a still worse aspect, and Mr. Scott

* It is 27th in another record

finding that the town peons as well as the greater part of the inhabitants had joined the insurgents, sent Gajapati Deo and his son with Doorgarauze to Musulipatam. It was hoped that this measure would have a good effect by showing the determination of the Government, and convincing the inhabitants who had been threatened in the Rāja's name that they had nothing to fear from him; but their expectations were disappointed; and unfortunately, the number of troops, then in that part of the division, did not admit of a sufficient force being employed to control the insurgents, who, rendered bold by success, no longer confined themselves to laying waste the country, but attacked the detachments posted at Varanasi and Khimeḍi, and eventually compelled the former to retreat out of the Zamindari and the latter to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to retire with their arms. As this was the strongest body of *sepoys* not only in the Khimeḍi country, but in the district, Mr. Scott, was apprehensive that the circumstance would prove very detrimental in every respect—while that prey could maintain its situation, it occupied the insurgents so much as to prevent them, in a great measure, from overrunning the Tekkali country and the *Havelli*, which it seemed to him much to be feared, would now immediately happen. The party engaged at Varanasi consisted chiefly of the peons of Doratanams under the command of Ootansing Tummerauze of Gouree.

The result proved that the apprehensions entertained by Mr. Scott were but too well founded. Each successive day brought accounts of fresh outrages, not merely in Khimeḍi, but also in the neighbouring *Havelli* taluks of Tekkali etc., which were now entirely in the possession of insurgents. The villages were burnt

and the grain carried away, in open day, and the inhabitants were everywhere ordered to pay no revenue to the Company under pain of death, and those who did not avowedly or secretly favour the insurgents, all fled. The *Tānādār* employed in Tekkali was seized and confined, and the peons, whom the exigencies of the service had induced Mr. Scott to entertain, went over in a body to the rebels.

Measures having in the meantime been taken to strengthen the force at Chicacole, the Board of Revenue commanded that the Officer commanding the troops should be empowered to bring all persons taken in arms to immediate trial before a Court Martial, but the Government were averse from so strong a measure and considered it sufficient, to direct that a proclamation should be issued in their name, calling upon the inhabitants to return to their allegiance, and declaring that 'such rebels as might be taken in arms, would be sent on board a vessel to be kept in readiness for the purpose of transporting them to Trincomalie.'

About this period, Jagannātha Deo (a brother of Gajapati Deo) who had formerly been recognised as Zamindar by the Company's Government, was dispossessed in 1780, for reasons which do not appear on record. He had lately made several proposals to pay the arrears on condition of being reinstated; but his fidelity was considered by the Collector to be too doubtful to give any hope of success from such arrangements. He threw off the mask and joined the *Bissoyis*, whom he induced to espouse his pretensions by promises of lands in the low country.

The force destined for this service arrived at Heeramandalam, on the 13th of April, 1799, under

the command of Col. Fotheringham. The strength of the insurgents was estimated at 5,000 men and two guns, and it was understood that the passes were defended by strong breast-works. Although the detachment was a very respectable one, Mr. Scott did not think it prudent to assume too high a tone, considering the difficulties the troops would have to encounter if matters were not brought to a settlement before the rains set in and, therefore, in his communications with Jagannāth Deo and the *Bissoyis* etc., he confined himself to exhortations and admonitions to submit, promising them, in return, forgiveness for past offences, and the recognition of all rights they enjoyed before. The result of this measure, far from creating disunion between the rebel faction as had been expected, served only to make the breach between them and the Government still greater, the messengers having been confined and robbed of everything they possessed. Proclamations at this stage were issued declaring that 'Jagannātha Deo was not to be considered as Zamindar of Khimeḍi, or as a person authorized by the Company to exercise any authority in the Zamindary, but as one who had fled from the Company's protection and from the pension allowed him, and that if he did not deliver himself up in camp within two days, he would be treated as an enemy to the Company.' The other inhabitants at the same time were warned to beware of suffering themselves to be misled by Jagannātha Deo as they would thereby render themselvs liable to the punishment that Government would inflict upon him, and which must inevitably await them, should they reject the terms, already offered, namely that every *Bissoyi*, *Mocassādār* or other inhabitants, who held lands or enjoyed other privileges, by custom or

usage, under the Zamindar, Gajapati Deo, should be effectually secured in the same by *Cowles*, provided they submitted themselve befor matters were brought to extremities.'

This measure, like those which had preceded it, produced no good effect.

The great difficulty felt by Mr. Scott was the want of information. The best prospect of success appeared to be in effecting a disunion between Jagannātha Deo and the *Bissoyis*, but to gain this object, it was necessary to have the assistance of persons on the spot, in whose fidelity he could rely, and possessing influence sufficient to give weight to their endeavours. Having no one about him from whom he could expect any service in this respect, he determined to avail himself of the fears entertained by Gajapati Deo, lest the Government should be induced to recognize Jagannātha Deo as the Zamindar, by calling in the aid of his (Gajapati Deo's) son, Puruṣōttama Deo, and Yuva Rāj, whose attachment to his master gave assurance that he would exert himself heartily in opposing the pretensions of his rival. Pending the delay of five weeks which occurred in sending for these persons from Musulipatam, the camp continued near Heeramandalam. The insurgents, in the meantime, taking advantage of the unprotected state of Tekkaly and the *Havelli*, plundered and burnt several villages and, as if to show their fixed determination not to submit, fired occasionally into the camp, and made a prisoner of Lt. Youngson, whom they carried to the hills. The reply of Jagannātha Deo to Mr. Scott's letter, demanding the release of this officer, openly avowed his rebellious views. "I came here" he said, "to defend the right of my house, and not

otherwise: it is true that the Company have used me well and favoured me; but as my brother and four persons are kept in the Masulipatam Fort, I demand that they be liberated. If you do not let them go, I have got a gentleman in return and have kept him upon a hill, and we are in search of three gentlemen more. The inhabitants rose before I was yet arrived in this district, and you may be well assured that they will never be divided. In order to find out your mind, they have acted as they have done, by requiring your *Cowle*, by sending word, and by offering to pay money, and not otherwise. I have waited in the hopes of obtaining your favour this whole month, and if you should not favour me still, I will certainly bring to pass what I am determining to do."

The arrival of Puruṣōttama Deo and Yuva Rāja produced an immediate change: many of the *Mukhā-sādārs* and other Chiefs, who had lent themselves to the view of Jagannātha Deo, now joined Yuva Rāja, and as he was thus unabled to obtain information of the plans and movements of the insurgents, Col. Vigors, who had arrived in camp with a reinforcement of troops and had assumed the command, determined to push at once through the pass, which he 'cleared without loss, but not without encountering every considerable difficulty arising from the nature of the place'. This succeeded the other attemps. Through the influence of Yuva Rāj, the rebellion-chief (Lakṣmīnarasu Pātra), who seized Lt. Youngson, was apprehended and given up, and that officer, as well as the family of Gajapati Deo, whom Jagannātha Deo had kept under restraint, were set in liberty. Jagannātha Deo himself took refuge with the *Bissoyi* of Jeringhee,* who, in common with the other Hill-Chiefs, retired to his fort.

* Read Jirāṅga

From this time, 'no bodies of armed peons were seen or heard of, and as they promised future obedience on condition of receiving indemnity for the past, and being confirmed in the possessions they held under Gajapati Deo' which was guaranteed to them under the signature of the Collector, Mr. Scott, who considered tranquility to be permanently restored. The management of the country was entrusted to Dubbarāja (Yuva Rāja), whose conduct during the last operations had gained the confidence of both the civil and military authorities. A reward of Rs. 10,000/- was offered for the apprehension of Jagannātha Deo, whose conduct during the rebellion throughout, and more particularly in the detention of the British officer, was deemed to preclude him from all claim to forgiveness. It was at that time supposed that he had retired to the Northern part of Ganjam.[1] He returned, however, in September and burnt several villages in the eastern part of the Zamindari; but he had now to contend with a person well acquainted with the country and possessing an influence greater than his own and finding himself deserted by his adherents, he retired to Cuttack. In December, the force which had been gradually withdrawn was reduced to two companions, stationed at Varanasi, Nivagam and Khimeḍi, and a similar party posted at Tekkali, a village just beyond the borders. It may be necessary here to mention that nothing more was heard of Jagannātha Deo until 1804, when he was seized and delivered up by the Zamindar of Soraḍā, and was sent as a prisoner to Masulipatam.

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[1] Early in 1803, the Pārlākhimunḍi Estate and the Tekkali *havili* lands were transferred to Ganjam (from Visakhapatna), the southern boundary of which became the last part of the course of the Lāṅguliyā, and the Vizagapatm District consisting of the 16 Zamindaries and 23 proprietary estates, was put in charge of a single Collector. (Vide *Vizagapatam Dt. Gazetteer*, P. 171.)

On the death of Gajapathi Deo on the 4th of February, 1802, Puruṣōttama Nārāyaṇa Deo was declared as the Zamindar of Khimeḍi but he requested that the administration might remain in the hands of *Yuvarāja*[1], and he did not himself leave Chicacole till February, 1803. In May of that year, a deed of Permanent Settlement was prepared in his name, and transmitted to him by the Collector with a recommendation to follow the example and advice of *Yuvarāja*,— a recommendation which he appeared to have implicitly followed.

Disturbances in Pārlākhimuṇḍi

In the year 1804 A. D., the Maharāṭṭas were defeated by the English in a battle at Varamula-ghāṭ in Khurdā and fled to the south. On their way to Madhya Pradesh (Nagpur), they burnt and plundered several villages. People of Kimeḍi suffered heavily in the hands of the turbulent Maharāṭṭas during this time in addition to the rebellion instigated by the *Bissoyis*.

Puruṣōttamadeva died on the 29th of October, 1805, and was succeeded by his son, Jagannātha Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, who was then a little child

[1] Yuvarāja was not only a good administrator but also a learned poet. He wrote a book in Sanskrit named the *Bhārata-Sāra-Saṁgraha* which he completed in the Śaka year 1732, *Pakṣa-Rāma-Muni-Kṣauṇi* which corresponds to A. D. 1810, in the temple of Rāmasvāmi in Pārlākhimuṇḍi. The following *Śloka* is found in a palm-leaf manuscript of the book :—

Rāma-pakṣa-muni-kṣōṇī
Śākābdē māsi cāśvinē
sita-pakṣē tu Vijayā-
daśamyāṃ candra-vāsarē ।
Śrīla-Śrī Yuvarājēna
Śrī-Rāmasvāmi-mandirē
samāpitaṃ Bhāratasya
sārasaṅgraha-pustakaṃ ॥

According to another Ms., the author is one Lokanātha-Vidyābhūṣaṇa and the date is Ś. 1732 [Orissa Museum Ms. Library, No. 16-[Kha], P. 226].

not more than 12th months old. The Zamindari was consequently placed under the Court of Wards, who appointed Yuvarāja in the office of Manager.[1]

From the *Records of the Ganjam District*, Vol. 741, Page Nos. 45—59, it is seen that Yuva Rāja, the relative of the minor Zamindar, was appointed as the Manager of the Estate and one Mandasa Baḍajenā, as a distant guardian of the minor. A sum of Rs. 16,440/- was advanced to the guardian to meet the expenses of the minor and his family. The *Jamā* (collection) of the revenue amounted to Rs. 1,17,389/- which allowed in one year a surplus of Rs. 25,000/- to accumulate for the benifit of the minor.

The st and energetic character of that remarkable Manager (Yuvarāja) was long remembered by the well-disposed inhabitants with respect and gratitude. During the seven years of his administration, the Zamindari remained quiet, without any interference on the part of public authorities, or any concessions to the turbulant Chiefs or Peons; and when he resigned his office in 1813 to go on a pilgrimage to Banares where he died, the surplus found in the hands of the Collectors, accumulated during his management, amounted to Rs. 1,19,329/-.

On leaving the district, Yuvarāja committed the superintendence of the affairs of the *Muzamdārs*, Śrīkarṇa Paṭanāik, since deceased, and Gopinātha Paṭanāik; but, when his death became known, the Collector appointed his (Yuvarāja's) son, Padmanābha Deo, who, from his long residence in Zamindari and the respect in which his father's memory was held by all classes of the people, was considered to be the fitted person to succeed him.[2]

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[1] Russell's report, paras 12, 13, and 18

[2] *Ibid.* Para 19

The *Jamā* or rent, paid in the time of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, was 86 thousand rupees, while for Tekkali the last Zamindar, Rāmakriṣtṇa Jagaddeva, paid only Rs. 24,772/-.

Let us now go into some past events :

Soon after the death of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, great confusion prevailed in the Zamindari owing to Jagannātha Deo's interference in revenue matters. To check his mal-administration and to collect the Government *Kisti* regularly, Mr. Russell, the Chief of the Council of Vizagapatam, confirmed some *Kawels* to *Muchilikādārs* of Kimeḍi for collection of revenue in specific areas. A confirmatory *kawel* granted by the Vizagapatam Chief, is quoted below as a specimen :—

"*Cowel* granted by Claud Russell Esq., Chief and the Gentleman of the Council of Vizagapatam, with the consent and approbation of Jagganānt Deo, renter of the Kimmeḍy District to *Anamunla Kittiah.*[1]

Whereas you are bound to [*sic*] security for Jugganānt Deo to the amount of Rupees 53,000, to be paid to the Hon'ble Company in part of his rent for the Kimiḍy country, and in consideration thereof, Jugganānt Deo had given you the management of Toopucunda[2] District as under renter with the usual allowance of *service* [*sic*] or ten percent on the collections, and whereas Jagganānt Deo had fallen arrears in the payment of his *Kists*, we have therefore thought it necessary to confirm Jugganānt Deo's *Cowels* ourselves to you, by a *Cowel* immediately from ourselves for next year under the following conditions, for the performance of which you have given *Mucilikas* as usual *viz* :

[1] Probably Hanumanta Khuṇṭiā

[2] Probably Tibukoṇḍā Hill-range near Varanasi [Kasinagar]

You are on no account to consider yourself under the orders of Jaganānta Deo, nor suffer anyone to interfere with the collection of the part of the District under your management, unless the Chief and Council should find it necessary to send a person on the part of the Company.

The collections that are made, shall be first for the payment of the Company's *Kists*, after which the surplus may be paid to Jaganānta Deo on application to the Chief for our consent.

You are on no account to comply with any demands of money from Jaganānta Deo or any other person on his behalf on account of your rent, his authority being now restricted to the keeping of the country in peace and quietness.

The sum for which you are responsible to the Hon'ble Company and which you have agreed to pay in four *Kists* is as follows:—

On account of the year from 1st July, 1783 to 1st July, 1784	Rs. 50,000·00
On account of the 1st years balance, remaining in the inhabitants hands	Rs. 3,000·00
Total···	Rs. 53.000·00

Which is to be paid as follows:—

On the 15th October	Rs. 13,250·00
On the 15th December	Rs. 13,250·00
On the 15th February	Rs. 13,250·00
On the 15th April	Rs. 13,250·00
Total···	Rs. 53,000·00

In Vizagapatam this 10th of June, 1783."[1]

[1] *Revenue Consultations*, 12th July, 1783, Vol. 29, pp. 716—18

198 Meanwhile, the detachment commanded by Maj. Dallas, including a couple of troops under Capt. Hawes, were placed in Kimeḍi under the orders of Lt. Col. Durand. Prier to this, Jagannātha Deo and Maṇi Deo, who were confined by the Company, escaped from the prison in 1800. But, in 1801, a portion of the detachment was removed to Tekkali. In the month of May, 1801, an unsuccessful attack on Kimeḍi was made by Jagannātha Deo and throughout the year, his movements were deemed dangerous to the Company's Government. During the rainy season, owing to the bad climatic condition, apart of the artilary with six pounder guns was ordered to proceed to Chicacole where Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo was confined. On the 26th of September, 1801, Lt. Col. Durand informed the Collector that Chicacole might not be a safer place for the confinement of the Zamindar Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, as there was every chance of Jagannātha Deo intriguing with him. After this, in the month of November, two batches of the Company's artilary were kept ready in Tekkali to move at a short notice. Under these circumstances on the 16th of January, 1802, Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo suddenly died after suffering from an unknown illness. Some suspected that in order to avoid further complications in the affairs of Kimeḍi, he was poisoned by the English in the prison.

Owing to the efficient management of the Zamindari by Yuva Rāja, its internal condition was steadily improving. The Company's Government was much pleased with his management. In the 12th of February, 1803, Yuva Rāj gave marriage of his son, Padmanābha Deo, to the daughter of the Ex-Rājā (Gajapati) of Kimeḍi.[1]

[1] From other sources we know that he married in the family of the Cālukyas of Māchhamarā *i. e.*, the daughter of Balabhadra Deb Roy, who was the maternal uncle of Gajapati Deo; as such, his daughter must have been a cousin of the latter. (See page 133 above).

The Government approved of this marriage and the Collector recommended to the Board to present the manager with an elephant worth about Rs. 1,500/- on the occasion of his son's marriage.

The Pārlākhimuṇḍi Zamindari still continued under the Court of Words, during the minority of Rājā, Jagannātha Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo (II). The latter's grandfather, Gajapati Deo, had been dispossessed of the Zamindari by the Government for repeated acts of hostility and rebelion, and the Estate had been placed under the Collector's management in 1805, on the death of the minor's father, Puruṣōttama Nārāyaṇa Deo. Previous to this, at the time of Permanent Settlement, the proprietory right of Pārlākhimuṇḍi had been declared vested on Gajapati Deo and his heirs by the usual *Sanad-i-Milkeut-Istimrar.*[1]

From the official correspondence of the Government, it is clear that in April, 1814, the Board attributed the troubles which arose in Kimeḍi to the members of the Zamindar's family, and ordered that "the minor's guardian and manager should be removed."

The management of Padmanābha Deo who, at the age of 33, had succeeded his father, Yuva Rāj, as Manager, on the 21st of August, 1813, became so unpopular that the *Bissoyis* and *Dorās* of the country created serious troubles. In the Ganjam Records of April, 1814, it is stated that the *Bissoyis* alleged that he was cutting their *uppā* (?) wood to make boats, usurping the powers of the minor Zamindar and treating the people cruelly. But, the Collector reported

[1] Ganjam Manual, P. 136

[2] Ganjam Records, Vol. 814

 that these charges against Padmanābha Deo were not substantiated. The insurgents, instigated probably by the Gajapati Pāṭṭa Mahā Dēvī, the Widow of the late Zamindar, and by *Durgā Rāj* (Yuvarāj), a son of the Jagannātha Deo,[1] a former Zamindar who began to create disturbance by burning and plundering the villages. "The Government accordingly made preparations to put down the disturbances by force, and Col. Fletchers was appointed to command the troops in Ganjam. The Magistrate, Mr. Woodcock, and the Collector, Mr. Spottiswoode, were at the same time directed to proceed to Kimeḍi to enquire into the complaints made by the *Bissoyis* against the Manager, Padmanābha Deo. In an interview the Collector and Magistrate had with the insurgents, the latter appeared to have had some thoughts of seizing their persons; for the Jirāṅga *Bissoyi* is said to have suggested that course to the *Bissoyi* of Gummā, saying 'Are not the golden sparrows flown into our cage ? Why should we part with our prize till the object we have in view is obtained ? Let us then with one accord catch them by the feet, and let them be watched with care, until this promised answer from the Government arrives.' In spite of this suggestive speech, however, the interview passed off without disturbance. Pending the negotiations that ensued, the insurgents had committed no further acts of aggression and the Magistrate was unwilling that the troops should act until he had made a further reference to the Government. The apparent tranquility that ensued led to the troops not being employed at all. Padmanābha Deo was removed from his post of Manager and one Kānakōrti Narasiṅga Rāo was

[1] He is identical with the rebel Jagannātha Deo, the half-brother of Gajapati Deo.

appointed in his place. The lull was, however, only momentary, and disturbances soon broke out again and continued without little intermission untill 1817. The lenity of Government on this occasion was, therefore, clearly misplaced."[1]

Narasiṅga Rāo's misconduct was pointed out by the mother (*Rāṇi*) of the minor Zamindar. The complaint made against him was that he stopped the annual ceremony of *Daśaharā* and *Aṅka* which were two important ceremoneis in the Rāj-family of Kimeḍi. The report was sent to the Government on the 25th of September, 1815. Upon this, the Board made a regular enquiry into the matter and found Narasiṅga Rāo guilty. The Board also wanted to know if the Guardian and the *Amin* were related to the Manager. But, Narasiṅga Rāo continued his office till March, 1820.

In the 4th of December, 1815, the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi* died. A new Guardian for the minor Zamindar was appointed on 6-6-1816.

From the *Records of Ganjam* we learn that in the month of January, 1807, "the widow of the late Gajapati Deo has gone to the Presidency, taking with her the minor Burlah Deo[2] (?) and his mother (?). Steps are taken to secure the boy from her. After the death of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, the Collector has been in charge of the area as Agent to the Court of Wards on the part of Puruṣōttam Nārāyaṇa Deo, the minor."[3]

During the year 1807, strong measures were taken to prevent the Śavaras (the hill tribes) from

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1 *The Ganjam Manual*, P. 136-7. ff

2 Probably, Bharata Deo

3 *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 785, Dated, 16-1-07 and 23-1-1807

202 entering into and plundering the country. Meanwhile, one Nārāyaṇa Pātra created disturbances in the Jaypore Taluk while he took shelter at Pārlākhimuṇḍi. Therefore, orders were passed in 8-10-1807 to expel him from that locality by force.

In the year 1809, Cakravarti Deo, son of the late Jagannātha Deo, made an appeal to the Collector to bestow the Zamindari on him. He was receiving a major pension for his family maintainance. His appeal to the Collector seems to have been rejected.

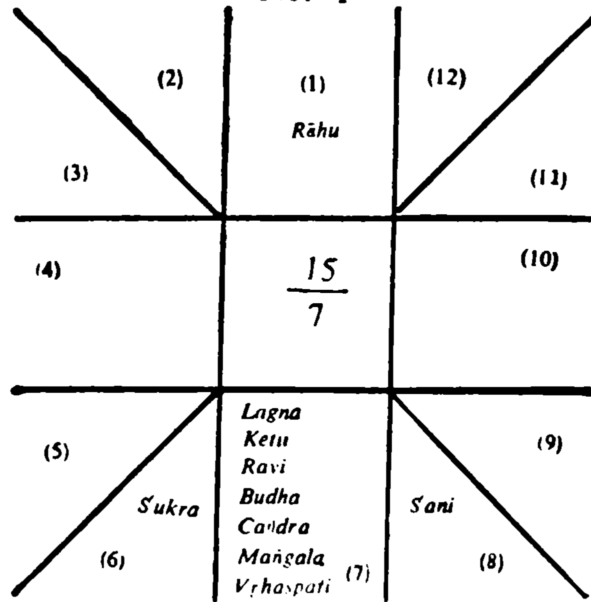
The date of birth of Puruṣōttama Deo, according to the Hindu Calander (Horoscope No. 1), is given below:—Śārvarī Saṁvatsara, Kārtika, Śakābda 1702, the 9th month and the 15th day, which corresponds to the 27th October, 1780 A. D. But, in another manuscript, the cyclic year is wrongly given as 'Krodhana', Śaka-1702 and Kārtika. In this manuscript, the revised horoscope is as shown in page No. 203 (in No. 2):—

According to a third manuscript, he was born in the year Śārvarī and died in Krodhana, Kārtika-Śukla, the 3rd *tithi* (17-10-1784). We presume that the first mentioned date and the No. 2 horoscope are to be accepted, and the date for his death is not reliable because he was 22 years old when he came to the *gādi*, and died in his 28th year. Regarding the date of his consecration, his *Rāṇī* Rekhā Dēvī, was also consecrated on the same date with her husband. It is in the year and date given as Rudhirodgārī, Puṣya-śukla-daśamī, Friday, and the Meṣa Lagna.[1] It will correspond to January,

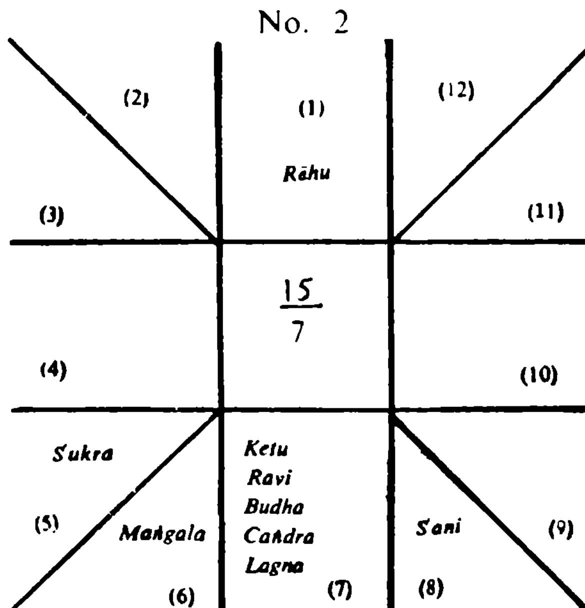
[1] 'Rudhirōdgāri-nāma-saṁvatsara Puṣya-śukla-daśami-śukravāra-dina Vēlā daṇḍa 19·54 litā sampūrṇnē Mēṣa-lagnē, tūlāṁśē Śri-Puruṣōttamanārāyaṇa-dēva Mahārājasya navina-rājyābhiṣēkaḥ. Asmin dinē rātrav Mithuna-lagnē Śri-Paṭṭamahiṣyāḥ Rekhādēvyāḥ śāṭi-vandhanaṃ. Śakābda 1725-8-11" (Vide Caitanya Rajaguru's not-book.)

Horoscopes of Puruṣōttama N. Deva

No. 1



No. 2



 1804 A. D. On that occasion and in the years Rudhirōdgārī, in the month of Māgha, there falls a lunar eclips on the full-moon day when seventeen Telugu Brāhmaṇas were granted a village called Būragām (now in the Pātapāṭam Taluk) under the revised name of Yuvarājapura, as the village was declared to have been granted to them by Yuvarāja-deva on behalf of Puruṣōttama Deva. The names of these seventeen Telugu Brāhmaṇas (donees) are given below:—(1) Bhuktā Pragaḍā Paṭṭābhirāmannā, (2) Kānyapalli Rāmāvadhānulu, (3) Kānukūrti Narasiṁha Rāo,[1] (4) Jāmi Kṛiṣṇā Rāo, (5) Paṭṭāsam Veṅkaṭa Śāstrī, (6) Nāmabhaṭla Somannā, (7) Pragaḍā Mādhannā, (8) Tātā Gaṅgādhara Bhuktā, (9) Gaṭṭā Sāmbannā, (10) Gaṭṭā Rāmayōgi, (11) Kaṇḍālā Āppannā Bhuktā, (12) Intāmunāla Jagannātha Ācārī, (13) Guṇṭūru Tāgannā, (14) Dūsi Buchennā, (15) Vedalā Gōpannā, (16) Maṇḍapāka Rāmacandra and (17) Marunādi Cinnā Rāmannā.

Padmanābha Deo had, in the meanwhile, retired to his estate in Tekkali. But, in October, 1816, his intrigues seem to have once more made the Zamindari the scene of disturbance. At the beginning of 1817, one Gudiyā Pāṭi Lāchannā commenced the disturbance by burning Nagarikaṭakam and five other villages in the Karakkavalasa Estate. A reward was offered for his apprehension and troops were requisitioned in October, 1816. Meanwhile, a warrant was issued against Padmanābha Deo to appear before the Magistrate. And also, a reward of Rs. 1,000/- was offered for the apprehension of the rebel leader, Lakṣmī Deo.[2]

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[1] This man was appointed as Manager after Padmanābha Deo in or about 1817 A. D.

[2] We have no record to show that Lakṣmī Deo belonged to the family of either the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Rāj or that of Padmanābha Deo of Tekkali.

"At this moment, Mr. Spottiswoode promptly arrived at the Zamindari with four companies of *Sepoys* from Vizagapatam and found the passes stockaded; but, the presence of the troops appears to have temporarily prevented further outrages. No military operations were, howerver, attempted and the troops were subsequently withdrawn, but not before Durgā Rāj,[1] the grand-son of the former Zamindar, who was directly concerned in the disturbances, had been caught and hung. A solitary instance of well-timed severity was not, however, in itself sufficient to quell the rebellious spirit of the *Bssoyis*, *Dorās* and *Pāyiks* of Pārlākimeḍi".[2]

From the Records of the Ganjam Collectorate (Chatrapur) it is found, as we have already stated, that Yuvarāja, who acted as the Manager of the Estate, went on pilgrimage to Banares on 22-12-1812 where he died in April, 1813. Before Yuvarāja started for Banares, the *Upanayana* ceremony of the young *Rājā* took place at Pārlākhimuṇḍi on the 24th of November, 1812. No sooner had the news of the death of the Manager arrived at Pārlākhimuṇḍi than his (Yuvarāja's) son, Padmanābha Deo assumed the office of Dewanship in the place of his bereaved father, in May, 1813. But, his administration started with great disturbances and protests throughout the Estate.

In March, 1814, the *Bissoyis* of Pārlākhimuṇḍi were so furious that they destroyed Raghunāthpur (Tekkali) the estate of Padmanābha Deo, and also some other villages which belonged to him. For this reason, Mr. Wood Cock made a formal complaint against Maj. Wahab under whom a force was sent from

[1] Durga Rāj (Yuvarāja) is identically the son of Jagannātha Deo
[2] *The Ganjam District Manual*, PP. 137-8 ff

Ichāpuram in March, 1814. In the month of July, 1814, one Rāma Dās was appointed as the Guardian of the minor *Rājā* after the removal of one Buḍhā Jenā; and in 1-9-1814 arrangements were made for proper education of the minor *Rājā*. At that time, he was only ten years old.

From the *Ganjam Records* (Vol. 795), we learn that in February, 1815, the question of granting a pension to one Bharata Nārāyaṇa Deo, an uncle of the minor Zamindar, was taken up; because he (Bharata Nārāyaṇa Deo) applied for an allowance of Rs. 2,000/- for his marriage which was performed on the 21st of March, 1816. The required amount of money was sanctioned by the Government on 4-4-1816. During the same year, the misconduct of Padmanābha Deo of Tekkali was detected and the dispute between the *Bissoyis* and the Manager (Padmanābha Deo) was settled. The country was settled for Rs. 1,57,720/- in June, 1815. According to the statement of the famous Gajapati *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*, the rebellion of the *Bissoyis* lwas fomented by the third *Rāṇi (Mahādēvī)* of the ate Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo. But, the Collector in his enquiry on the 14th of December, 1815, held that the statement of the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvī* was false, and that Padmanābha Deo was intriguing with the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvī* and the *Bissoyis* to cause disturbances. In his report, he further stated that the minor Zamindar was improving very much in his education.

In August, 1815, cholera in the form of an epidemic had broken throughout the district of Ganjam and it continued for about 3 years. In June, of that year, again, new disturbances took place in Pārlākhimuṇḍi.

On the 27th of October, 1814, the minor *Rājā*'s uncle, Nārāyaṇa Deo,[1] was not allowed to visit Pārlākhimuṇḍi due to the tense situation and disturbances there. But, on 26-11-1815 he was allowed to live at Bāruā, which is a coastal town not very far from Pārlākhimuṇḍi.

"Towards the end of this year, the *Bissoyis* instigated by the widow of the late rebel Gajapati Deo (usually called Gajapati *Pātta Mahādēvi*), who aspired to the management of the country, and assisted by the Town Peons, who have ever been the chief instruments of faction and revolt, determined to effect the removal of the new Manager and with this view resorted to their usual expedient of burning and plundering the villages. It is in this way that any object which this turbulent people have in view, whether it be to obtain redress for supposed grievances or to get rid of an obnoxious Manager, is invariably sought to be effected. The disturbances commenced in October, 1813, but were not brought to the notice of the Government until March of the following year, when every effort on the part of the Civil authorities to restore tranquility having unhappily failed, and the enormities committed by the *Bissoyis*, having risen to so dangerous a height as to involve the general peace of the southern part of the district which compelled the Government to send troops into that country with a view to the apprehention of some of the principal leaders of the conspiracy, the destruction of their fastnesses and the re-establishment of the Company's authority in that perturbed district".[2]

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[1] This Nārāyaṇa Deo is identical with Narasiṁha Cakravarti as shown in the genealogical table of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi family. He is one of the sons of Jagannātha Deo. Narasiṁha Cakravarti was only 34 years old in A. D. 1815.
(See the genealogical table at P. 106 above)

[2] *Russell's Report*, Para-20

Padmanābha Deo's conduct, as seen from the records of the Ganjam Collectorate "created universal disgust, and he had to seek refuge at Chicacole. The district was brought under the Company's protection and Padmanābha Deo brought back under military protection. His headstrong passions and cruel disposition disqualified him for the Manager's place. He thereupon endeavoured to create disturbances and the irruption of the Piṇḍāris added to the disturbed state of the district. Martial-Law was enforced and two field forces were stationed in the district to restore peace."[1] During this time, a regular trial of Padmanābha Deo was conducted.

With regard to such sad conditions, prevailed in Khimuṇḍi, different English Officers made different suggestions. *viz.* (1) Capt. W. Marshall suggested that if a proclamation was issued, offering pardon to all the rebels except Lakṣmaṇa, it might be ended with beneficial results; (2) Maj. Genl. G. Rumler suggested that there was no necessity for regular troops to be posted in Khimuṇḍi for the protection of the young Zamindar as the followers of Lakṣmaṇa were considerably reduced; and (3) Lt. Col. Steel suggested that the Zamindar of Khimuṇḍi should be bound over to prevent supplies being sent to the rebels from their district.[2]

In pursuance of the requisition, a field detachment, consisting of five companies of the 10th Regiment of Vizinagaram and three companies from the corps at Berhampur, were directed to proceed into Khimuṇḍi by forced marches. The former party appear to have evaded the principal barrier, but they found the second was defended, and a *Sepoy* was dangerously wounded. Then, two

[1] Letters, dated 28-1-17, 31-1-17 and 17-2-17

[2] Letters, dated 12-5-17, 6-7-17, and 20-9-17

detachments going to Varanasi (Kāsinagara) were attacked at the entrance of a very thick jungle, extending from five to six miles (this must have accured near the village of Minigām known as *Meṭṭu*), and suffered still heavier loss.[1]

At that time one Guḍiā Pāḍi Lakṣmaṇa[2] with some *Pāik Sardārs*, namely Nīlakaṇṭha, Gaurāṅga and Rāmannā Pātra, instigated rebellion and carried on robbery in different parts of the Tāluk. The impenetrable forest tracts were their hiding places. Therefore, their actions could not be checked in right earnest. Conditions became worst during the year 1817. A nearest relative of the Zamindar who was probably called by the name '*Yuvarāja*' (Dub-Rāj)[3] joined the rebellion raised by Guḍiā Pāḍi Lakṣmaṇa and Padmanābha Deo, the ex-Manager. But, subsequently he (Yuvarāja) was caught and brought to trial before a court martial and sentenced to death in April, 1817. The execution was carried out publicly. His family was kept under the custody of the Government for a long time.

The following extracts from a report, written about this time by Mr. Spottiswoode, who then held the office of Collector, are interesting: "I am concerned to report to your Board that great disturbances have taken place in the Khimeḍy country by the rebellion of the *Bissoyis*, and that I do not see a prospect of tranquility being re-established till they shall have been severely coerced by a strong and regular force. They have for the last 3 months shown symptoms of rebellion and commenced burning

[1] *Russell's Report*, Para 21

[2] In some Records Guḍipaṭi Lāchannā is given

[3] He is the son of Jagannātha Deo, the rebel-leader, which fact has been pointed out in the foot-note at page 205 above.

and plundering the villages. In endeavoured by conciliatory letters to point out to them the punishment which would await such improper conduct, and signified, if they had cause of complaint, I would with attention listen to it. They then stated they would not be quiet without my appointing *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*, the widow of the late rebel Gajapati Deo, as Manager of the Kimeḍy country. I pointed out to them the impossibility of this measure and the necessity they were under of obeying Padmanābha Deo, who had been appointed to that office by the Government. For some time they were quiet, and I had hoped they would continue peaceable. Their subsequent conduct has convinced me coercion is absolutely necessary".

Upon the arrival of a party of *Sibbendies*, the *Bissoyis* immediately proceeded to the last acts of outrageous rebellion; seized upon the Police-Dārogah, the Custom *Thānādār* and his establishment, and kept them all in confinement, and surrounded the *Sibbendies* with a very superior force and sent in a statement of grievances, all tending to the removal of Padmanābha Deo and the appointment of *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*

Mr. Spottiswoode was of opinion that 'nothing was now left but to show them by a regular force that they were not to rule the country or to give laws to the Company'. He stated that the merchants who had come to Naupaḍā in the Tekkali country to purchase salt had, through fear, returned empty handed; that the manufacturers had deserted and that the whole country seemed alarmed.[1]

In consequence of this representation, the Government to whom the application of the Magistrate

[1] *Russell's Report*, Paras 23 & 24

for troops was then unknown, determined to assert their authority with all the means in their power; but the *Bissoyis*, in their petition, had among other grounds of complaint, alleged that the Manager had forcibly carried away the minor Zamindar from Khimeḍy and had ill-treated *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi* and other members of the family; it was considered due to the people against whom this measure was adopted, as well as to the character the Government was anxious to maintain for justice and moderation, that all the complaints which the *Bissoyis* had made should be most scrupulously investigated. The Magistrate, Mr. Wood Cock, and the Collector, Mr. Spottiswoode, were accordingly directed to proceed to Khimeḍy for this purpose, and the Government, in order still further to facilitate the restoration of tranquility, directed that the Manager, Padmanābha Deo, should be ordered to proceed to Chicacole together with his family and dependants, and that a proclamation should be published in the name of the Governor in Council inviting 'the insurgents to return to their duties when their complaints would be investigated and the real grievances redressed, but warning them at the same time that measures were in progress for the complete suppression and exemplary punishment of obstinate rebellion'.[1]

The first interview of the public authorities with the *Bissoyis* took place at Nārāyaṇapuram, the principal village of one of their number, situated at the foot of the mountains leading to Jirango. Within half a mile of the place they were met by a body of Savaras, armed with bows and arrows, who after making their *sālāms*, accompanied them to the appointed spot. Upon their arrival at the

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[1] *Ibid.*, Para 25

tent, the fly of which was only pitched in order to remove any possible ground of suspicion, they learnt that all the *Bissoyis*, excepting the Chief of the Lāvānyakoṭa, who was sick, were in a tope about half a mile distant; but, that so far from feeling a full and entire confidence as to their views and intentions, upon their *palanquins* and two or three Peons reaching the village in the morning, they had sent people to examine them under an idea of fire-arms being concealed, and some act of treachery intended. Hour after hour elapsed before they made their appearance, and it was not until between 2 and 3 O'Clock in the afternoon that these Chiefs, armed with a crease by their sides and accompanied by about a thousand or 1200 persons, five or six hundred of whom were armed with match-locks, and the remainder with bows and arrows, swords, nutcrackers and etc., presented themselves before them. The great part (three out of five hundred) of that fine body of men, the Khimeḍy Peons, kept up for the protection of the country at an annual expense of Rs. 13,688/-, had some time since joined the insurgents, and formed the most respectable part of the force by which the *Bissoyis* were surrounded. They appeared to act in strict concert with these Chiefs, to aid them with their advice, which some of the *Sardārs* appeared to be singularly competent to afford and to increase, by the violence of their language, the adherence in which the Manager appeared unfortunately already to be held.[1]

"Upon being told to point out any particular act of the Manager which they considered most oppressive, they alleged that he had cut down their Ippah-wood (Mahua trees) which proved on enquiry even from themselves to be untrue. Foiled on this

[1] *Ibid.*, Para 26

point, they proceeded to speak of Padmanābha Deo's assuming titles and dignities, by no means belonging to him, that he acted not as a servant of the master, but as master of the country, and that he oppressed and by violence removed from Khimeḍy their young *Rājā* and plundered his property". In reply to these accusations, which it was found impossible to make them reduce to a more specific shape, it was answered that "they must be well aware, when they looked back to the days of Durga Rāj *(Yuvarāja)*, that the office of the Manager never had partaken nor ever could partake of the character of a servant, that the removal of the young *Rājā* was deemed by the authorities in the district a proper measure of precaution after the acts of violence committed by the *Bissoyis* and their adherents, and finally that his property was secured from plunder by the checks established by the Collector".[1]

Although it was not possible to bring home to Padmanābha Deo any charge of a criminal nature, or to find indeed any apology for the conduct of these rebellious Chiefs, much less of the Khimeḍy Peons, who upon every principle ought to have followed another line of conduct, it appeared that the Manager, by an assumption of dignity, a haughty demeanour, a violence of temper, and an inattention to immemorial customs and usages, trifling in themselves, but, in the repeated breach rising into importance, had brought down upon his head a degree of unpopularity from one end of the country to the other, exceeding all human conception, at the same time, the Magistrate doubted whether the flame would ever have burst forth or at least have risen to its present alarming height, had not the deepest intrigues

[1]. *Ibid.*, Para 29

been set on foot, leading the inhabitants by dint of threats and promises to express their dissatisfaction and to quit their villages, allow their cattle to run wild and their fields to go uncultivated until the object of Padmanābha Deo's removal was attained. That such diabolical proceedings had existed, and might justly be attributed to certain individuals, Mr. Wood Cock had no doubt, but not withstanding every exertion he had used, he was unable to adduce sufficient evidence of the fact.[1]

In 1817, Tekkali was purchased in favour of Padmanābha Deo. He had seven concubines, one of whom was a dancing girl (ଡୁଲିସଣ୍ଡା) named Priyavati. She constructed the Rādhākānta Maṭha in Tekkali. Padmanābha Deo composed *the Mahārāsa, Bhāvavati-kāvya and Ekādaśi-Māhātmya.* His first *Rāṇī* was the daughter of the Māchamarā Cālukyas, the second and third *Rāṇis* were the daughters of the *Rājās* of Khallikoṭa and Dharākoṭa respectively. Padmanābha Deo died in Pārlākhimuṇḍi. His third *Rāṇi*, Pārvatī Devī, entered into the fire of her husband's funeral and commited *Sati*.

Padmanābha Deo, who was for a long time residing in his own Estate, Tekkali, devoted much of his times in writing a *Rāhāsa* in Oriya, he being a good poet, actor and follower of the Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavite sect. It is said that he married a number of girls in order to act the *Rāhāsa*, himself being in the role of Śrīkṛiṣṇa. The tradition goes that after his death, most of the unfortunate ladies, whom he married, were forcibly thrown alive into the fire of his funeral.

The *Bissoyis* and *Dorās*, accompanied by the aboriginal tribes, started *Fituri* throughout the country although the English wanted to control them by persuasion

[1] *Ibid.*, Para 28

and coercion. The report says that "unaccustomed to contradiction as this savage race appeared, entering thus minutely into their alleged grievances appeared to be productive only of irritation. It was deemed advisable, therefore, to accept from them a parcel of *Gadjans*, written in the Oriya language, which they said contained all their grievances and all their wishes and, as the evening was closing, it was proposed to break up the meeting and to return Baugosala[1], to look over their representations, and in the course of a day or two, to hold another conference with them. These representations proved on examination to be little more than a copy of those formerly delivered : 'full of futile and groundless charges'. Throughout their discussions, however, they appeared firmly resolved not to allow any arguments to bias resolutions already taken, but rather to die with the sword than to yield one little of the object they formed from the commencement they had in view." "Every attempt to extenuate the conduct of Padmanābha Deo or to induce a general amnesty apprehending all parties failed entirely of effect. They were willing to enter into any negotiation, binding themselves by the most solemn promises of fidelity and obedience to the Company". Explanation and remonstrance served only to inflame them still more. "The Jiranghi[2] *Bissoyi* turned to the Gummā Chief, seated by his side, and with a smile beaming with malignity said 'are not the golden sparrows flown into our cage ? why should we part with our prize until the object we have in view is obtained ? Let us, then, with one accord, catch them by the feet and let them be watched with care until this promised answer from the Government arrives.'

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[1] Read Bāghasalā. It is a village near Upalaḍā, in Pārlākhimuṇḍi

[2] Read Jirāṅga

 On Gummā *Bissoyi* apparently half yielding his consent to this act of treachery, Narasinga Rao, the Principal *Vakil* of the late and the present Manager of Khimuṇḍi, an old and respectable man and the Collector's head-servant, seated themselves between these Chiefs and in a cool and temporate manner pointed out to them the enormity as well as fatality of the act in agitation and the dreadful punishment which sooner or later it would inevitably bring down upon their own heads and heads of their children. After making some angry observations and asking from whom were they to expect punishment whilst they had at command so powerful a force ? The Gummā *Bissoyi* said that they would give up the intention they had in view upon an oath being taken by the gentleman and his servant. He then directed the Collector's writer to put his hand upon his (the Gummā *Bissoyi's*) sword and requested that Mr. Spottiswoode would touch it with his feet, repeating to the assembly the promise of obtaining from the Government in the course of 26 days a final answer to their petition for the removal of the Manager. To this request they yielded assent and, after presenting Rs. 60/- to the Siwaraloo (Śavaras), who had exhibited their skills and returned to Bāgusalā. Upon making every enquiry that the time admitted, it was found that many persons had a report of the circumstance referred to by the *Bissoyis*, but it was evidently very difficult, if not altogether impracticable, to obtain any evidence which could lead to a corroboration of the fact. The Magistrate concluded by observing that if the Manager should be removed, there was every reason to hope that tranquility would be restored and that it would only be necessary for a few months to maintain a small force in Tekkali[1].

[1] *Russell's Report*, Paras 31-32

When the Zamindary was considerably suffering from chaos and confusion, the old scholar Caitanya Rājaguru, being retired from all political activities, devoted his whole time and energy in compiling the two important treaties, namely the *Āyurdāya-Kaumudi* and *Laghusiddhānta*. The first book (*Āyurdāya-Kaumudi*) was written in the name of Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva whom he blessed in the following verse :—

Kalyāṇāni pravāhinī sulalitāṃ
Kāntiṃ Kalānāṃ nidhiḥ

Lakṣmīṃ Kṣmātanayō Budhaśca budhadāṃ
Jīvaściraṃ jīvitaṃ ।

saubhāgyaṃ Bhṛgujō kujau vijayatāṃ
Rāhur = mahotkarṣatāṃ

Ketur = vāhuvalaṃ dadātu niyataṃ
sarve = 'nukūlā grahāḥ ॥

In the colophone he writes :—

Iti Śrīmad-Gajapatinārāyaṇadeva-mahārājādhirāja-viracitāyām = Āyurdāya-Kaumudyāṃ riṣṭādhyāya-prakaraṇaḥ prathamaḥ ॥

A palm-leaf manuscript of the book is preserved in the Manuscript-Library at the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar[1].

In his old age, Caitanya Rājaguru has mostly devoted his time in religous affairs. He constructed a temple of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in Keraṇḍi, a village not far from Pārlākhimuṇḍi town. He used to spent most of his times in that temple, on the bank of the river Mahendra-tanayā. There, he wrote the *Laghu-siddhānta* for academic use by young students of Astronomy.

[1] *The Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, Orissa, Vol. II, P. 3

 In this book he invoked Śrīkṛṣṇa along with Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, Śiva-Gaurī and Gaṇeśa[1] in the following verses :—

Yamunā-tīra-sañjāta-nīpa-
vṛkṣa-talāśrayaṃ ।
muralīvādanaratam bhaje
Kṛṣṇākhyakaṃ=ahaṃ ॥1॥
Sūrya-maṇḍala-madhyasthaṃ
śaṅkha-cakra-gadādharaṃ ।
Kirīṭa-hāra-keyūra-bhūṣitaṃ
Śrīpatiṃ bhaje ॥2॥
Kailāsa-śikharāgrasthaṃ
Pārvatyāliṅgitaṃ Śivaṃ ।
Gaṇanāthādibhiḥ sevyaṃ
varābhayakaraṃ bhaje ॥3॥
Sūrya-siddhānta-vettārō guravaḥ
santi bhūriśaḥ ।
mamāparādha kṣyāmyantu granthe'smin
doṣam=asti cet ॥4॥
Caitanya-Rājaguruṇā
Siddhāntasāra-vedinā ।
akāri śiśu-bodhārthaṃ
Laghu-siddhānta-nāmakaṃ ॥5॥

For examination of horoscopes, which belonged to persons of different status and calibre, he collected *Jātakas* from many parts of India. In his note book we found even the horoscopes of Aurangzib, the Great Moghal Emperor of India, and that of Shā-Ālam, the Nawab. Probably, his merits in astrology and astronomy were well recognised in all parts of the country.

From the records of the Collector's office at Ganjam it is seen that the Collector reported to the

[1] They are the 5 important gods and goddess, worshipped by the Vaidik Brāhmaṇas of Orissa.

Court of Wards about the financial position of Pārlākhimuṇḍi Zamindary as follows :—

The D. C. B. for *Fusli* 1225 (1815 A. D.) shows a demand of Rs. 1,63,984/- and balance of Rs. 15,000/-. The statement of settlement for *F.* 1226 (1816 A. D.), compared with *Fusli* 1225, shows a deficiency of Rs. 4,907/-. The demand in the present settlement is Rs. 1,52,813/-. The valuation of Khimeḍi district as exhibited by the Committee of Circuit on an average of the five years is Rs. 1,87,051/- being about the settlement of *Fusli* 1226 in Rs. 54,238/- deducting customs, for distribution and the Bāttili-Muṭhā which now yields less revenue, the next surplus of the Committee's valuation about the *Jamā* of *Fusli* 1226 is Rs. 6,454/-. Tekkali's required sum will be about Rs. 6,500/-.[1]

The Manager, Padmanābha Deo, resigned from his office in the middle of 1817, and after this, for about one year, no one was appointed in his place as Manager.[2] But, in June, 1818, one P. Subbā Rāo was posted as Manager. Meanwhile, in 4-6-1818, Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deo's marriage took place when his age was only 14. (The Zamindar completed his 18th year in A. D. 1822). The *D. C. B.* account of the Zamindary for that year shows a balance of Rs. 12,307/- which was outstanding against the Zamindar including a balance of Rs. 1,802/- on account of Takkali[3].

In the *Russell's Report*, it is stated that "in August, 1817, K. Narsingha Rāo retired on pension and his

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[1] *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 754

[2] In *Russell's Report*, mention is made that after Padmanābha Deo, the office of the Manager was conferred on Kanukurti Narasiṃha Rāo who had long been in the service of the Samasthanam. (Vide, Para-36)

[3] *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 755

place was filled up by Subbā Rāo, the head English Writer of the Collector's Office, Ganjam. But, in the year 1818, due to some troubles. not known, Subbā Rāo was removed and Narasingha Rāo was re-appointed in the said post.

Meanwhile the Government, though anxious that the disturbances should be brought to a termination without having recourse to measures of extreme severity, had deemed it necessary to passify the question. After this, they enquired into how far the Manager was involved in trifling affairs. From the report, it is understood that the dis-affection and distrust which arose against him was due to the violent temper he maintained throughout. It is for this reason he was ousted from the office he was holding and sent to his own place, Tekkali.

The report says, with regard to Khimuṇḍi Peons that "the Magistrate observed that they joined the insurgents shortly after the distrust brought out and appeared to have been forwarded in assisting them on every occasion in which responsibility of their enormities had been presented. Their avowed real motive had been an unwillingness to serve under Padmanābha Deo and a determination to promote the wishes for the end of his removal from the management of the country by any means, however criminal. Their guilt, he thought, had certainly been clear, but their immediate removal might and doubtless, he conveyed, would be attended with the most mischievous consequences. In these circumstances and also under the persuasion that, as they were influenced by the same feeling as the other inhabitants, their conduct admitted (though in a small degree) of the same apology, the Governor in Council (in approving

the proceedings of the Magistrate) resolved to overlook their double breach of duty as subjects and as servants and to allow them the benefit of the general amnesty."

In 1815, a severe type of the epidemic of cholera appeared in the town of Gañjā, which is popularly known as the *Gañjā-Maruḍi*. According to the *Ganjam District Manual*, "the severity of the fever which caused Ganjam to be given up as District Headquarters may be judged from the fact that the population of the town estimated at 30,000 in 1815, had in 1818 diminished to 6,000. Many of the inhabitants abondoned the place, and the civil and military authorities removed to Berhampur."[1]

The '*Pāik-rebellion*' in Khurda started in March, 1817. It spread over the whole of Puri District and a portion of the Cuttack District. Jagabandhu Vidyādhara took the lead. He was closely related to the Zamindar of Sheragaḍa of Ganjam.

In 1818, disturbances continued in Mohiri. Troops were also stationed at Ichapur and Berhampur to guard the people from Maharāṭṭa ravages. One of the Maharāṭṭas was a rebel-chief of Mohiri. In 1818, Śrīkara Bhañja, who was confined under a strong military guard at Berhampur since 1815, escaped and returned to Gumsur where he started serious rebellion. He was assisted by *Dorās*, *Bissoyis* and one Bāhubalendra. But, the British Officers could manage the situation only by formally approving him as the *Rājā* of Gumsur in May, 1819.

The Pinḍāris were an offshoot of the Maharāṭṭa armies who had taken to robbing and plundring the country, when their Chiefs could no longer afford to pay them. Consequent upon the disturbances at

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[1] *The Ganjam District Manual*, PP. 32-33

Pārlākhimuṇḍi, and there is reason to suppose, being instigated by Padmanābha Deo, the ex-Manager, the Piṇḍāris made an irruption into the Ganjam District in December, 1816. Their strength seems to have been between 4,000 and 5,000 men, and they were well-mounted, although but ill-armed. They entered the district through the Jeypore country and proceeded northwards, burning and plundering as they went. In this year, on 19-11-1816, Martial-Law was proclaimed in Pārlākhimuṇḍi and it was continued till January, 1817.

The District Manual of Ganjam narrates that "besides enquiring into the affairs of Mohiri and Gumsur in the north, Mr. Thackeray's attention was directed to those of Pārlākhimuṇḍi.[1]

Following is an extract from the reports of Mr. Thackery who was sent by Government as the Commissioner :—

"There are now two visible parties among the Town Peons and the *Bissoyis,* which perhaps may properly be called the parties of the rival queens, the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi* and the *Suāgi Mahādēvi*. The Jirāṅga *Bissoyi* and four of the other *Bissoyis* and two or three hundred of the Town Peons form one party, the *Rājā* and the *Suāgi Mahādēvi* and his confidential servants lean to this party—they want to have the management themselves, but are afraid still of the disturbances which the other party would probably create on any change. The *Rājā* is about 16, much attached to his grand-mother, the *Suāgi Mahādēvi*, and her

[1] It is recommended to take temporising measures until the minor *Rājā* attained majority. The minor was residing with the Junior *Rāṇi*, who was staying at Chicacole. The Collector was asked to take charge of the Zamindary temporarily and employ revenue servants for its management. If the *Rāṇis* create any disturbance, they were proposed to be placed under restraint. (Vide *Ganjam Report*, Vol. 819, date 29-11-1817)

party. He is supposed to hate the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*, to be of course being suspicious of Narasiṃha Rao and the Gummā *Bissoyi* and his adherents. The other party is composed of the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*, now at Chicacole, and the Gummā *Bissoyi*, the most powerful of the Hill Chiefs and some of the other *Bissoyis* and a number of Town Peons. The Manager, Narasiṃha Rao, has always been of the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*'s party; but, now perhaps meditating a change to the *Rājā*'s party or to make a party of his own. The Gummā *Bissoyi* has come down close to Kimeḍi with a large party of Peons to whom the Manager says he is compelled to pay *battā*. And, another head-peon, Chandruḍu, out of favour with the *Rājā*, but supposed to be the creature of the Manager and the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*, has also been brought with a party of Peons into the town. These parties threaten to attack each other. It would be dangerous for the Sarkar to side with either party, because the opposite party would plunder the country and we cannot depend on the party whose side we took for any real assistance in putting down the disturbances which might be expected. The Jirāṅga *Bissoyi* etc., complain of the Manager, Narasiṃha Rao, and they expect an attack from Gummā *Bissoyi* and the party and say that the Manager has brought them down with the intention of making all the other *Bissoyis* subservient to the Gummā *Bissoyi*, which would make the Gummā *Bissoyi* all powerful and the Manager, Narasiṃha Rao, who is supposed to have Gummā *Bissoyi* completely under his influence, the real master of the country. Narasiṃha Rao says that the *Bissoyis* came of themselves, and that he pays them *battā* to prevent this plundering at this critical season, and that the other obnoxious Peons have been brought into the

 town by the Gummā *Bissoyi*. It is difficult to say what Narasimha Rao's politics really are, but he manages to preserve peace for the present, at least, he uses bribery and promises, perhaps to establish his own power so firmly that the *Rājā* himself, when he comes of age, shall not be able to shake it. But, at all events the immediate effects, in the absence of all authorities, are good. The *Rājā's* best friends admit that there is no other way of going on just now. Present peace is so great an object that there would be so great a risk of disturbances if he were moved there is so great a want of zeal, integrity and ability in those about the *Rājā*, that it seems necessary to keep him in the management while he maintains the peace. The violent struggle for power attended with the usual disturbances may be expected in a year or two, or sooner, particularly as Narasimha Rao has made so many promises to each party, that he cannot carry them out even if he ever intended to perform them. The nature of the country is favourable to those intrigues. The Hill-Peons and Town-Peons are numerous, turbulent and starving—there are altogether two or three thousand of these village bullies, including *Bissoyi*'s Peons, besides the Śavaras or hill people, whose number are perhaps exaggerated. These Peons are always ready to plunder; but they are put in motion by some person behind the curtain, they and indeed everybody in the country, except the *Rājā* and some unfortunate ryots, are benefited by these disturbances. They assist in carrying them on, and though of different parties, seems to think it a point of honour to shelter each other from punishment for plundering the Sarkar, their general interest in plunder and the deep jungle to which the plunderers can retire, make any coercive measures useless.

We can never get any information to be depended on. The local authorities, taught by experience, are afraid of taking decisive measures and endeavour to keep the peace by threats, supported by the presence of troops at Kimeḍi, who, however, can never act with any real effect, and by promises and balancing one party against the other. Many of those about the *Rājā*, and almost all the Peons will always find in their interest to keep up these disturbances, that they themselves, instead of the Company and the *Rājā*, may get the revenue in the shape, either of plunder or pay. This makes Kimeḍi and indeed all these Hill-Zamindaries dangerous. If the *Rājā* is weak, and he cannot keep those troublesome people in order, collect his revenue and pay his *peshcush*, war with him is the consequence[1].

From the above letter of Mr. Thackeray, it is apparent that these English Officers adopted such measures to secure their own interest while dealing with the hill-tribes of Ganjam and Vizagapatam of the East Coast, that hundreds and thousands of people, who formed a substantial part of the country's militia, had actually left to starvation and that ultimately compelled them to take the course of plundering their own country. In the names of peace and tranquility, the Company's battalions were engaged at the expense of the unfortunate Zamindars. These tactics served their purpose in : (1) maintaining their own force at the *Rājā*'s revenue, (2) strengthening the power of the English, (3) realising the revenue in full regularity and (4) weakening the military strength of the native Zamindars. This diplomatic action of the English was so successfully tackled that within a

[1] *Russell's Report*, Para—40

course of fifty years several parties started to plunder the country and to keep the Company's troops alert continuously for many years to come. Almost all the Zamindary tracts of the East Coast had to suffer from strife during this period. The history of the Company's rule will hardly wipe out the stain accumulated in its regime which was the real cause of the great troubles that bursted out in the East Coast in which Khimuṇḍi was the worst sufferer. There is no records to prove how many hundreds and thousands of innocent lives and families have been desolated; what a huge amount of property including food stock was plundered; what a large quantity of crops was destroyed, how many villages were put into flame, how young ladies were kidnapped and innocent children were stolen for the purpose of *Meriā* (human sacrifice) by the turbulent Śavaras and Khonds. But, all these, so to say, were the result of the policy adopted by the English Officers who were anxious to demonstrate horror to the credulous people that their lives, property and honour could not be saved by their *Rājās* if the Company's help through military movements were not availed.

According to the *Ganjam District Manual*, "the *Rājā* was still a minor. There are 11 Hill-*Bissoyis*, each with a small fort, who were supposed to act as the police of the country and prevent the Śavaras or hill-people from breaking into the country and plundering it. To aid these *Bissoyis*, there were attached to them a number of Peons and both the *Bissoyis* and the Peons were paid by grants of land. There were besides some hundreds of turbulent Town Peons. The *Suāgi Mahādevī* or young *Rājā*'s grand-mother, and the *Gajapati Mahādevī*, the widow of the rebel

Zamindar, Gajapati Deo, were rivals for power in the country. Each *Rāṇi* had a party amongst the *Bissoyis* and Peons. The country itself was under the Collector's management; but, Subbā Rāo,[1] the Government Manager had in 1818, imprudently mixed himself with the party of the *Suāgi Mahādēvī* against the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvī* and the Gummā *Bissoyi* who supported him. The *Gajapati Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*, who was possessing of considerable influence in the Zamindari, disgusted at the slights to which she was exposed, from the Manager's party, quited the Zamindary in 1818, and proceeded to Chicacole. One disturbance now concluded to follow another.

The *Bissoyis* of the country were in some measure considered as holding their lands or *Makhāsā* at the will of the *Rājā*. In the course of the quarrels and intrigues that had taken place between the two opposite factions, the *Bissoyi* of Rāyagaḍa had been turned out in October, 1817, and Daṇḍasēnā, the brother of the Gummā *Bissoyi*, put in his place. Daṇḍasēnā again was turned out of Rāyagaḍa by the Manager under *Suāgi Mahādēvī*'s influence, whereupon in September, 1818, Daṇḍasēnā and his people began to burn and plunder villages, as was the custom, and to demand the return of the *Gajapati Mahādēvī*. These quarrels were always a good pretext for robbing and plundering, the unfortunate ryots being the sufferers, and the *Bissoyis* and the Peons, originally

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[1] In the *Ganjam Records* the following account is found about Subbā Rāo : "Subbā Rāo is of the Madras-Malabar caste. He was appointed as writer and afterwards an English translator in 1793. During the temporary resignation of Narasinga Rao, he acted as the Manager of Kimeḍi, but his conduct was unsatisfactory during that period. Through his misconduct disturbances broke out. He embezzled about Rs. 2,000/- from the accounts of the Zamindari." (Vide *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 801).

 the police of the country, the gainers. Consequent upon Mr. Thackeray's report, however, the Sub-Collector, Mr. Bayard, was appointed to be in special charge of the Hill Zamindaries in Ganjam, and his headquarters were located at Pārlākhimuṇḍi; but in other respects, no more effectual means were taken to preserve the peace of the country. Upon his death, he was succeeded by Mr. Bayard, an officer well-acquainted with the Oriya language, and long resident in the country. As long, however, as the two factions remained in Pārlākhimuṇḍi, the Zamindary could have no peace and reconciliation between them was not to be thought of.

From the records of the Collector's Office, it is known that several villages were burnt by Daṇḍasēnā and his party in November, 1818. Therefore, a Hāvildar's guard was sent to guard the town proper in the same month. Petitions were received from several villagers to protect the Zamindary from the rebels[1].

In 1822, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, paid a visit to the Ganjam District. In 1820 and 1821, the disturbances amongst the *Bissoyis* and Town Peons of Pārlākhimuṇḍi still continued, in spite of the exertions of Mr. Bayard to prevent them.

The Ganjam Records, (Vol. 3916, pp. 225-26, 270, 239-40, dated 3-11-1832, 4-12-1832 & 13-11-1832) say that Padmanābha Deo of Tekkali, who was the Manager for some time, died in 1832. The Collector reported that he held three Estates, namely (1) Nandigām, (2) Burgām and (3) Raghunāthapur. He left behind him two sons, Gōpinātha Deo (the

[1] *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 761, dated 6-11-18 and 12-11-18

elder) and Kṛṣṇacandra Deo (the younger).[1] After the death of the Manager, Padmanābha Deo, the Collector appointed one Dilly Jagannāthan, in his place as Manager. During this time, regular succession disputes were going on in Pārlākhimuṇḍi.[2]

That is the time when the Pārlākimeḍi palace was repaired and necessary amount was sanctioned for the purpose.[3] In 1834, Martial Law was proclaimed in Kimeḍi. This proclamation was made on 12-11-34.[4]

Between the years 1820 and 1830, a continuous rivalry was going on between *Gajapati Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi* and the *Suāgi Mahādēvi* being supported by their respective parties among the *Bissoyis* of Gummā and Jirāṅga. It did not terminate but increased day by day, leading to serious consequences in the matter of administration. Therefore, the Collector was directed to undertake immediate steps towards "direct management to the entire exclusion of the influence of the two *Rāṇis* and of their respective adherents,

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1 The Collector reported about Tekkali that the late Padmanābha Deo left two widows and illegimate son, Kṛṣṇacandra Deo born to his concubine, Padmāvati (dated 4-6-33, Vide *Ibid.*, Vol. 3916, P. 97 & 100). According to the *Ganjam Records*, Vol. 3918. pp. 256-57, dated 17-11-34, the Government have sanctioned 10% of the collection of the Estate of Tekkali which amounted to Rs. 4,914/-. It was allotted for the maintenance of the family of the late Padmanābha Deo. The Collector suggested that Rs. 4,800/- would be enough for maintenance of the family and the remaining Rs. 114/- would be utilised for maintenance of the family temple.

2 *The Ganjam Records* from 1774—1835, Vol. No. 3931, pp 19—21, 26, 27-28 and 31-34 dated 1-12-30, 20-10-31 and 24-10-31.

3 *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 3930, P. 15, dated 20-5-35.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3928, P. 157, dated 11-11-34.

 giving public notice that the young Zamindar would be placed in possession as soon as his minority expired."

Mr. Bayard was appointed as Sub-Collector on the 12th of February, 1820. After making study of the situation, he reported :—

"I openly avowed the cause of Daṇḍasēnā because it was the most just, the most popular; because the *Suāgi Mahādēvi*'s party had come over to his interest as a measure of unavoidable expediency; and because there was no other mode of saving the country from utter ruin. By taking the decided part, things were soon brought to crisis regarding the Rāyagaḍa Fort, from where the late *Bissoyi* was ejected, and the Jirāṅga-party entirely suppressed. Under these circumstances, the country was quiet and the collections were coming in."

Meanwhile, the minor *Rājā* expressed his desire to remove the Manager, Narasiṃha Rāo, who resigned his office of his own accord. After this, the *Rājā* issued a proclamation stating that he would take the management into his own hands.

In September, 1820, *Gajapati Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi* was permitted to return to Khimuṇḍi from Chicacole, where she was asked to reside. This proves that the English Officers have knowingly created another trouble in Khimuṇḍi. *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*'s presence in Pārlākhimuṇḍi stimulated fresh troubles. The *Bissoyis* got the opportunity to develop hostilities against each other and the two groups of Peons, as usual, joined in that party split. In October, futile attempts were made by Mr. Bayard to reconcile both the groups. The report goes on saying that he (Mr. Bayard) could not decide whether to

send away *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi* from Khimuṇḍy or allow her to stay for the best interest of the people. Therefore, he at last "considered it prudent to interfere as little as possible". According to him, the *Rājā*'s party was weak and the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*'s party was most powerful. He also thought it dangerous to remove some leading persons from the *Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*'s party.

Anyway, the quarrel between the two rival groups continued. Consequently, in February, 1821, the collection (of Kist) was reduced. It did not exceed Rs. 4,000/-. Meanwhile, seven Jirayat villages were set on fire. The Sub-Collector could not detect who were at the crime. The arrears swelled upto Rs. 84,000/-. Under such circumstance, the Sub-Collector thought that reconciliation between the two *Rāṇīs* was absolutely necessary. He tried his best to give effct to this end and succeeded on a temporary measure. After this, the collection increased to Rs. 60,000/-. The following report of Mr. Bayard gives a picture of the situation :

"On receiving charge, the *Rājā* vested full power in the Dewan, Nityānanda Pāḍhi (Nittea nunde Potty) who injudiciously adopted not very conciliatory measures towards the most powerful party. His policy was to get rid of the chief adherents of the course before he had at all strengthen his own, and the result was that he utterly failed in an attempt he made at ousting one Chandroodoo[1] and others from the Zamindary. The Town Peons soon saw his drift, and one night, upwards of 400 of these bullies, moved away their families to Hiramandalam etc. (places on the borders of the Taluk), and commenced burning and plundering in all directions. At this time, the head *Sardār* of the 1st Duff with 400

[1] Read Candruḍu

of the civil armed establishment was in Kimeḍi. He could effect nothing but protect some of the larger villages. The *Rājā's* Thannās were attacked and routed, and the Peons in the town came to a mutual understanding with the disaffected, and Dewan's power dwindled into nothing with this success. All discontented collected at a garden close to Kimeḍy, and were determined on getting rid of the new Dewan even if they dragged him from the interior of the *Rājā's* dwelling. I came to Kimeḍy just at this crisis, and seeing the whole country in confusion by one objectionable character, I strongly advised the *Rājā* to discharge him at once, to which he at last reluctantly agreed, and the Dewan took his departure amid the hisses and hootings of the whole population in Cusbat (Khāswa) Kimedy. In rows of this enormities were committed and I am sorry to relate one revolting to humanity and showing at once the ferocious nature of this wild people.........".

During the time of Juvarāja (Doogarauze), there was a surplus revenue accumulated to the extent of Rs. 1,19,329-9-6. This amount produced interest to the extent of Rs. 41,380-7-9 at the time when the Estate was made over to the *Rājā* Jagannātha N. Deva. But, the funds realized by Yuvarāja were Rs. 1,27,1500-0-6. Therefore, it is clear that the revenue derived from the Estate during this interval fell short of the charges by Rs. 33,595-0-9.

"Soon after the ejection of Nityānanda Pāḍhi, the management devolved upon Gopinātha Paṭnāik, the *Mujamdār* of the Samasthanam, who was likewise appointed head of police on the part of the Collector. In July of this year, Sir. T. Munro visited Kimiḍy on his tour through the N. Sircars. The

Zamindary was then tranquil, though party feeling still prevailed among the females (*Rāṇis*) of the Samasthanam. The object of *Gajapati Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi* was to obtain personal control and direction of affairs and that of *Suāgi Mahādēvi*, the *Rājā*'s mother (*Mahādēvi*), to procure the return of Padmanābha Deo, with which view they caused several letters to be addressed to Sir Thomas Munro by or in the name of *Bissoyis* &c., threatening to lay waste the country if he was not appointed to be the Manager. Padmanābha Deo also pressed the point personally and professed much anxiety for the welfare of the young *Rājā*; but, it was feared that his real motive for seeking the situation was to get possession of the money which had accumulated during the minority, and as both the Collector and the Sub-Collector were averse to his return, Sir Thomas Munro determined to leave the administration in the hands of the *Majumdār*, Gopinātha Paṭnāik. To the *Rājā* himself, who appears to have been then, as now alike indifferent and incapable, it was probably a matter of little account by whom the office was filled, but to the ambitious females of the Samasthanam and the designing persons by whose counsels they were swagged, it was a question of deep interest, and as on every other occasion, the contest between those in power and those who sought to displace them, became the source of much suffering to the people. It was then supposed, and the fact is now beyond doubt, that many of the outrages committed at this period (*i. e.*, 1823 A. D.) were instigated by the Manager, Gopinātha Paṭnāik and Rekanā Chandruḍu, the head of *Sardār* of the Town Peons, who were sent together with some of their confederates to the criminal court under a charge of having plundered the house of one

of the party, opposed to their views, and burnt that of another. The judge considered their guilt to be established, and committed them for trial before the Court of Circuit; but unfortunately, for the peace of the Zamindary, the *Faujadary Adawlut*, to whom the trials were eventually refered, thinking perhaps that the open and daring manner in which these acts had been committed, cast a degree of improbability over the accusation, directed that they should be restored to liberty."[1]

Mr. Bayard, the Sub-Collector, reported in 18-3-1820 that Narasinga Rāo, the Manager, resigned his post and the management was taken by himself. A proclamation was issued to this effect.

On the 23rd of July, 1823, reports were made to the Government regarding the conduct of the young Zamindar thus :—

"The young Zamindar is idle and allows his servants to cheat him. He spends the collections on his own personal gratification. Disorder among the Peons and servants is increasing. The Collector has appointed Padmanābha Deo, the Zamindar's uncle, to manage the Zamindari".[2]

In the next year, *i. e.*, in 19-7-1824, Bharata Nārāyaṇa Deo (heir presumptive to the Zamindar) died, leaving behind him four wives of whom three committed *Sati*. The Collector recommended the grant of a monthly allowance of Rs. 40/- for maintenance of his widow who was popularly called *Baḍa Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*. She could not commit *Sati*, according to custom, because at the time of her husband's death she was pregnant. In the month

[1] *The Russell's Report*, Paras 42—53

[2] *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 3905

of April, 1825, she gave birth to a son who was the claimant to the Zamindari, if the Zamindar died without issue. The Zamindar consented to give the widow pension of Rs. 250/- per month. [1]

In order to secure the peace of the Zamindary, it was determined to deliver it at once to the minor *Rājā*, Jagannātha Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo, without waiting for his coming of age. The young *Rājā* was incapable and sensual, and Gōpinātha Paṭnāik, the new Manager, gave offence to the more powerful party under the Gummā *Bissoyi.* The Town Peons, who were the bullies of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, moved away their families, and commenced burning and plundering. The Zamindari continued in a disturbed state between 1822 and 1830, and it was alternately managed by Gōpinātha Paṭnāik, Padmanābha Deo and the *Gajapati Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi.* Constant fights took place between the rival factions. who met and fought out their quarrels in the streets of Khimeḍi. The revenues of the country naturally suffered, and in 1829, the Zamindari was attached for arrears. The work of plunder and destruction, however, still continued and the *Rājā* was gradually lapsing into a state of imbecility, the result of self-indulgence. The Zamindary was at length, once more resumed by the Government in 1830, and its affairs placed under the Court of Wards.

It is stated in the *Ganjam Records* that in 15-5-1830, the Zamindar and the *Mahādēvi*, being unable to manage the Zamindari, requested the Government to take over charge of it. Upon this, the Collector called for a meeting of the Zamindar, the *Mahādēvi* and the *Gajapati Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi*

[1] *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 3908, dated 24-4-1825

(the grand-mother). But, his attempt was frustrated due to the interference of some people who wanted to enrich themselves during the time of trouble and confusion in the country. Therefore, the Collector suggested that the Zamindari be placed under the guardianship of the Court of Wards. Two months later, the Collector himself took over charge of the Zamindari and appointed Padmanābha Deo as Manager. Then, the Zamindar went to the neighbouring Estate of Taralā where he resided[1]. The Collector summoned him to return back to Pārlākhimuṇḍi where some of his friends were taking rebellious attitude. At the same time he ordered the *Gajapati Pāṭṭa Mahādēvi* to go and live in Puruṣōttama Kṣetra (Puri); because, the Board of Revenue empowered him in 2-12-30 to remove the *Mahādēvi* to any place out of Pārlākhimuṇḍi.

Padmanābha Deo, who had previously been so ready to foster existing disturbances and had repeatedly been denounced by the then Collector, was now foolishly re-appointed to the management. The policy followed was a temporising one, and the Government of the country was weak. Padmanābha Deo proved to be as obnoxious as ever, and a conspiracy was formed against him amongst the *Bissoyis* and the Town Peons, which, in 1831, again culminated in an insurrection. The secret instigator of the disturbances was Gōpinātha Paṭnāik, who had been the *Rājā*'s Manager in 1822; but there were many others in the country who did not care to conceal their profession. The chief of these was Guḍiyā Pāḍhi Kriṣnama Dorā.

In 20-10-1831, the Board directed that the Manager should be removed and banished; and that there was no need for proclamation of Martial Law.

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1 The Zamindar of Taralā (near Palasa) was the maternal uncle of the young *Rājā*.

In January, 1831, Mr. Ogilvie assumed charge of the Ganjam Collectorate. The Government had been hitherto under the impression that the disturbances could be put down without the presence of troops by means of Peons. The *Bissoyis*, *Doras* and Peons of the Zamindari were elated by the former successes and also encouraged by the comparative impunity with which they had been so long allowed to carry on their excesses. In the course of these disturbances, the ryots had been murdered by the Śavaras and depredations were committed upon their property and cattle by the insurgents. Frequently, women had been outraged and because of the dishonour of their wives and daughters, the country was gradually being abandoned by its cultivators. Last but not least, the Collector of the District was powerless, as the Government had disapproved of his repeated proposals to call in military aid and declare Martial Law. In October, 1832, Padmanābha Deo died and a temporary lull in the disturbances was the result.[1]

Towards the month of May, 1832, it was found that the collection of revenue in the Estate reached a stand still. The Collector reported that owing to the prevalence of anarchy in the Estate, the collection of revenue was not possible. He, therefore, asked for a large corps of Sibbandis, under a competant European Officer, for his assistance.[2]

From the letters sent from the Revenue Department, dated 31-1-1832 it is seen that there was a balance of Rs. 36,066/-, in the *Fusli* 1240. In that letter, it is further mentioned that disturbances had once more broken out. The Manager, Padmanābha

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1 *The Ganjam Dt. Manual*, PP. 144-145
2 *Ganjam Records*, Vol. 3955

Deo, the Oriya Sherastadar and the *Sardār* of the Town Peons were not on good terms. The Manager was twice dismissed for his bad behaviour and was re-appointed, as he was found to be the only person suited to the post. He requested the Government that his hands need be strengthened to put down the Town Peons and that the Sherastadar and *Sardār* be deported from the country.[1]

On the 29th of March, 1832, the Zamindar requested the Government to grant Rs. 15,000/- for his marriage expense. But, the Collector recommended only nine thousand.

During April, 1832, it is seen that in *Fusli* 1241 the revenue amounted to Rs. 1,51,419/- and the charges to Rs. 92,697/- owing to the serious disturbances, many villages were deserted and the collection was very poor. According to the settlement report of *Fusli* 1241, the demand was Rs. 1,52,377/- and only Rs. 91,696/- was collected.

In November, 1832, the Manager, Padmanābha Deo, died. He had the Estates of Nandigām, Buragām and Raghunāthapur* which were inherited by his two sons namely Gōpinātha Deo and Krișņa Deo. After the death of Padamanābha Deo, the Collector appointed Dilly Jagannāth Rāo as the Manager of Kimeḍi.[2]

"The attention of the Government had, however, at last been drawn to the serious results likely to accrue, if the disturbances in Pārlākhimuṇḍi were allowed to continue. The *Bissoyis*, *Dorās* and Peons continued to possess themselves gradually of additional villages, land and money at the *Rājā's* expense. The

1 *Ibid.*, Vol 3916 * The modern Tekkali

2 *Ibid.*

lawlessness of these men originally began at the end of 1813 and had continued to prevail in a more or less open manner for a period of 19 years.

On the 11th of December, 1832, Mr. George Russell, the first member of the Board of Revenue, was appointed Special Commissioner to ascertain the causes which had led to these continuous outbreaks, to devise and carry out measures for their suppression, and to recommend the future course he thought best suited to prevent their recurrences. He was invested with extraordinary powers including that of proclaiming Martial Law, if necessary, in the Zamindary. Brigadier General Taylor was commanding the division in the Northern Circars and Major Baxter was appointed to command the troops in Pārlākhimuṇḍi.

Mr. Russell's first enquiry was to ascertain who the real instigators of the disturbances were. Having obtained positive proof against Gōpinātha Paṭnāik, the ex-Manager, and Rekana Candruḍu, who was the *Sardār* or Chief of the Town Peons in Pārlākhimuṇḍi, he proceeded to take them into custody. In May, 1833, the fort at Gummā was occupied by the troops, upon Gummā *Bissoyi* failing to give up Guḍiā Pāḍhi Kriṣṇa Dorā, a noted rebel of 1831; but no real opposition was offered to the troops. The Zamindary had remained in a state of comparative peace since Mr. Russell's arrival, and no further outrages were reported, except by the Śavaras. The Special Commission sitting at Chicacole had, in the meanwhile, sentenced the prisoners sent for trial by Mr. Russell to transportation for life, that being the highest penalty in their power to inflict. The inhabitants had expected the public execution of their oppressors, and they learned with

dismay that their lives had been spared. After this, there had been no direct act of rebellion except in Gummā.

In August, 1833, however, Mr. Russell thought it fit to issue a proclamation of Martial Law[1] by which reason any rebellion became capital crime. Negotiations were commenced with the *Bissoyis* of Jirāṅga[2] to deliver up the rebel Guḍiā Pāḍhi.

During Mr. Russell's temporary absence at Masulipatam, Major Baxter, anxious to secure Guḍiā Pāḍhi, sought for an interview with the Jirāṅga *Bissoyi* at his own fort in order to secure the object he had in view. This was a fatal mistake. With misplaced confidence in the people whose suspicions were easily aroused, Major Baxter, accompanied by a small body of troops, proceeded on the road to Jirāṅga. His movements were known to the *Bissoyi* and he was fired at by an unseen enemy, receiving a ball in his only remaining arm. The wound subsequently proved mortal. The first shot had been fired, and the signal for a general revolt of the *Bissoyis*, the *Dorās* and the Peons attached to them had been given. Of the 1,100 Town Peons of Khimeḍy, some 600 now threw off the mask and joined the insurgents. It would serve no purpose to attempt to describe in detail the different items of the campaign.

The country was woody and hilly, the paths unknown and the people disaffected. Caution was, therefore, necessary. Jirāṅga and other forts in the Eastern Division were gradually reduced, but with trifling loss, and the *Bissoyis* of Rāyagaḍa and Lāvanyakoṭa were captured and hanged. The insurgents met with

[1] Martial Law was actually proclaimed on the 11th of November, 1834

[2] In this Report, Jirāṅga is wrongly written as Jirāṅghee.

defeat at every point. Their principal leaders either died or were captured and, by April. 1834, the campaign in Pārlākhimuṇḍi was at an end, and the troops were gradually withdrawn. The most efficient means of repression were found to be the destruction of the insurgent's villages and grain.*

The anarchy which had existed for so many years had hitherto united all the turbulent classes of the country in one interest *i. e.*, independence. So, Mr. Russell's object was to separate the *Bissoyis* in the hills from the *Dorās* in the plains and to crush out the insolence of the Peons of the Four Streets in Khimeḍi Town. The connection that had so long subsisted between the *Bissoyis* themselves was also cleverly broken. The two *Bissoyis* of Rāyagaḍa were hanged along with 13 other fighters, whilst 103 of the Town Peons were sent to Vellore as State prisoners. Some 25 other fighters had been previously sentenced to transportation for life by the Special Commission, sitting at Chicacole. As regards the Town Peons of Khimeḍi, their number was considerably reduced. Only 200 were retained in employment in Khimeḍi, whilst waste land was allotted to others who had rendered services, sufficient to afford them a comfortable subsistence, subject to a light quit-rent after four or five years tenure. The latter arrangement proved highly advantageous in many ways to the Government.

The moral effect of the military operations was great, as it compelled the inhabitants to respect the power of the Government and enforce obedience. Khimeḍi had been in a state of open rebellion for years, the authority of the Government had been despised, whilst the rebellious spirit of the Peons and their leaders had been allowed to continue, for long,

* It opens before us the picture of the inhuman military action, now at Bangla-desa (East Pakisthan).

almost unpunished. "The measures taken to suppress the prevailing anarchy were not more severe than necessary, and the country has ever since reaped the benefits of the measures so judiciously taken by Mr. Russell to ensure its future peace."[1]

"On the 1st of July, 1834 A. D., detachments were sent to reinforce those in Ganjam, where the cultivators of Khimeḍi had risen against their *Rājā*, and had defeated the first detachment sent against them."[2]

Owing to continuous rebellion in Khimeḍi many cultivators had abandoned their profession and consequently many waste lands lay unutilised. Therefore, in 12-3-1834 the Collector proposed to increase cultivation by giving out waste lands on an easy assessment, to be gradually increased. The old palace was in a ruinous condition. Therefore, on the 20th of May, 1835, money was sanctioned to repair the palace.[3] It was constructed under the supervision of Mr. Chisholm, the Government Architect. The cost was estimated at about 4 lakhs.[4]

In Śārvarī (ŚŚ. 1762), Kārttika, corresponding to November, 1840. Rājarājēśvara Deo, the second son of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva, was born. In an old palm-leaf manuscript it is noted that his naming ceremony was held in Śārvarī, Kārttika, Śukla, the 7th day—Sunday.

In March, 1859, inroads were made upon different parts of Pārlākhimuṇḍi by the Śavaras; but they were quickly put down by the troops, who burnt the crops

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[1] *The Ganjam District Manual*, PP. 145—147 ff.

[2] *The Chronology of Modern India, 1494—1894 A. D.*, by Dr. Burgess, P. 331 ff.

[3] *Ganjam Records*, Vol. 3930

[4] *The Ganjam District Manual*, P. 44 ff.

and drove off the cattle as the most efficient of punishing them for the outrages. The Śavaras were supposed to have been instigated by the *Pāṭṭamahādēvì* and disaffected *Bissoyis* of Pārlākhimuṇḍi."[1]

In 1856 and 1857, there again started rather serious disturbances amongst the Śavaras in the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Zamindari, headed by Rādhākṛṣṇa Daṇḍasēnā of Gāyibā. Some 50 villages were burnt or plundered by the Śavaras, whereupon the troops under Capt. Wilson penetrated into the Śavara country and the disturbances were quickly suppressed. The villages and crops were burnt down and Daṇḍasēnā was caught and hanged as a rebel in 1857. The reprisals of the troops upon this occasion and their penetration into the heart of the Śavara country had an excellent effect in preventing disturbances for the future. Most of the *Bissoyis* and *Dorās* in Pārlākhimuṇḍi gave most efficient assistance to the troops acting independently against the rioters, and the Bobbili, Goomsur and Vizianagaram *Pāiks* were usefully employed upon the occasion.[2]

On the 7th of December, 1854, the *Rāja-Purōhita*, Raghunātha Rājaguru, was removed from his office, and his cousin, Rāmacandra Rājaguru,[3] was appointed in his place as *Rājaguru* on the 14th of March, 1857. The period between 1854 and 1857 witnessed some temporary appointments in the Samasthanam. In the years between 1865 and 1866, a famine of the most unparalleled severity desolated the country and slew between 10,000 and 15,000 people through actual

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1 *The Ganjam District Manual*, P. 155 f.

2 *Ibid.*, P. 157 f. It is called the *Gaibā-pilā-meli*. Daṇḍasenā was caught by one of his friends whom he imprecated, and his family became extinct.

3 He is the great-grand-father of the author

starvation. The number of deaths reported was 10.898; but there is no doubt that the total loss of life by starvation was greatly in excess of these returns, as many hundreds must have perished of whom no account was kept. The northern part of the district suffered chiefly.[1]

It is for this reason that the Government made a fresh complaint stating that "the exact cause of the rebellion was hidden under mystery and reproved the Magistrate of Ganjam for not having a full and accurate knowledge of the condition and sentiments of the people in every part of his Zillah.[2]

During this year, the Board approved the settlement done by the Collector, and suggested some corrections in the settlement operations. The Board also condemned the existing system in Khimeḍi of farming rents to persons unconnected with the Zamindari. This is time when a large number of Kāpu cultivators came and settled.

Between 1855 and 1856, there had been slight disturbances in Gumsur where one Cakra *Bissoyi* was the leader of some gangs of robbers. He endeavoured to win over the sacrificing Khōnds to his side by promising them a renewal of the *Meriah*-rite (rite of human-sacrifice), which the officers of the *Meriah*-Agency had practically put to a stop by their operations in the Maliah Country. All these formed parts of the great *Sipāy-Mutiny*.

Mr. W. Hudleston, Secretary to the Court of Wards, in answer to the letter of G. S. Forbes, Collector of Ganjam, No. 59, dated the 5th of November, 1863, was responsible for the proceedings

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1 *The Ganjam District. Manual* P. 157 f.

2 *The Ganjam Records*, Vol. 814, Dated 27-6-14, 4-7-14 and 15-7-14

of the Court of Wards (No. 2977 dt. 17th December, 1863) for making arrangements through the Settlement Department about the classification of the lands in Pārlākhimuṇḍi, basing on some specific principles.

In the middle of the 19th century A. D. during the time of Jagannātha Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deo (II), Oriya literature thrived, being patronised by him. It is the golden period when the great and renowned Oriya Poet, Gōpāl Kṛṣṇa, composed his songs on the *Kṛṣṇa-Līlā*. He was supported by Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva who was a lover of poetry and music. In his court, some other poets like Padmanābha Parikṣā and Raghunātha Parikṣā were living. They also composed many lyric songs, highly appreciated by the people of Orissa. The first Oriya play, named *Gōpinātha-Ballabha*, was composed by Padmanābha Parikṣā. The songs of Gōpāla Kṛṣṇa were recently collected by the present Mahārājā, Śrī Kruṣṇa Chandra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva, and published for wider circulation. The other contributions of the poet are still hidden under obscurity. This is the period when *Kavisūrya* Baladeva Ratha was supported by the Zamindar of Āṭhagaḍa and was recognised throughout Orissa. He got the title of *Kavisūrya* from the then Gajapati *Rājā* of Puri, while Raghunātha Parikṣā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi got the title of *Kavi-candra* from the same *Rājā*.

With regard to the tenures and land settlement, the *District Manual of Ganjam* states :

The permanent-settlement of the Estate was made in 1831 at the same time as that of the other Estates. The management of the Court of Wards commenced in 1830. In 1861 a survey on what is called the 'block system' was commenced and finished

in 1867. In 1868, a rough classification of soils based on this block survey was made and the rates on the different soils were fixed. Complaints, however, were made that the classification and the consequent assessment on the various descriptions of soil were inaccurate, and a report by a skilled office of the Settlement Department was ordered. This was made by Col. C. J. Stewart in April, 1880, and he reported that the boundary stones of many villages had disappeared; that the configuration of the blocks on the ground was no longer traceable owing to extended cultivation while *Porambokes* had in many instances became cultivated lands and dried lands were converted into wet. On this report, the Court of Wards sanctioned a fresh survey to secure full registry for the Estate.

The Court of Wards engaged in building the Zamindar's palace which was hardly costed less than 4½ lakhs of rupees before it was finished.

The population of Pārlākhimuṇḍi Maliah tract was returned at 19,201 and its approximate area was 350 Sq. miles.

The management of the Court of Wards had been a very great success. They took the Estate in charge in 1830 after the rebellion was subsided. The *Peish-cash* of Rs. 87,825/- which had never been paid except on compulsion was heavily in arrears and the people unsettled and the lands left waste. But, in 1830, it became one of the finest pieces of cultivated country in the District and the savings of 50 years amount was about 24 lakhs of rupees.

There were 503 villages in Pārlākhimuṇḍi containing 64,062 acres assessed at Rs. 2,78,720/-. The country was divided into 24 *Muṭhās*, namely :—

Muṭhā	Villages	Muṭhā	Villages
1. Sōdā*	19	13. Nārāyaṇapura	50
2. Mahāsiṅgi	31	14. Kharasaṇḍā	4
3. Lābarā	17	15. Gaṇḍāhāti	9
4. Gulamuru	20	16. Goppili	20
5. Irapāḍu	6	17. Temburu	48
6. Khurigām	18	18. Sārvakoṭa	35
7. Neraḍi	9	19. Vārāṇasi	20
8. Kittalapāḍu	3	20. Liviri	3
9. Khāspā	17	21. Nivagām	20
10. Jhollā	10	22. Bāggā	29
11. Goṭṭipalli	11	23. Nulakajoḍu	10
12. Tūrpu (Pūrva)	93	24. Bāttili	6

There were 11 *Bissoyis* or Hill-Chiefs in the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Estate of which seven have their forts (*gaḍa*) in the Māliahs and four in the low-country. They were as follows, and the four last were in the low-country :—

1. Gummā	2. Rāyagaḍa
3. Jirāṅga	4. Serāṅga
5. Ajayagaḍa	6. Kumalsiṅgi
7. Kayiṁpura	8. Nāmanagara
9. Gaṇḍāhāti	10. Nārāyaṇapura
11. Lahuṇiāgaḍa. (Lāvānyakoṭa)	

The population of the town was then 12,158, and the population of the Estate was 2,27,482. The area of the Estate was 639 Sq. miles. *Peish cash* of the Estate was Rs. 87,825-4-0. The income of the Estate was 4½ lakhs of rupees. The new palace was constructed under the supervision of Mr. Chisholm, the Government Architect as we have already stated before.

* Sodā-maṇḍala is recorded in the copperplate inscriptions of Choḍa-Gaṅga as one of the five Provinces of Kaliṅga (*I. A.* XVIII, P. 165. See also *The History and Culture of Indian People*, Vol. IV, PP. 142 ff. and *Ins. Or.*, Vol. II, PP. 347 ff.)

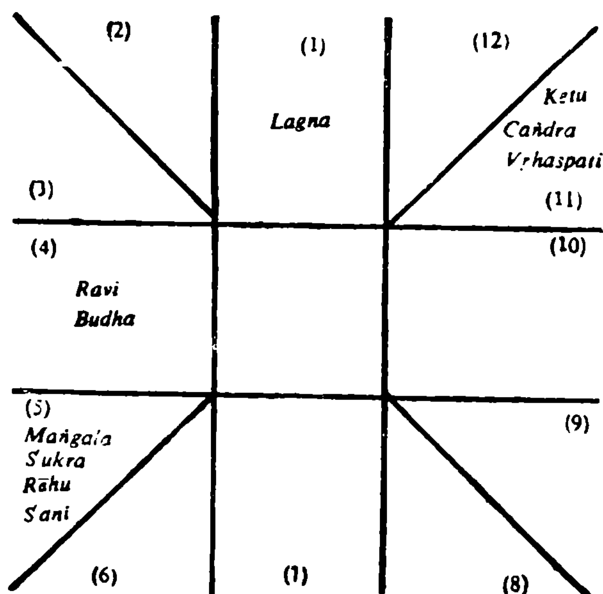
* The ancient name is Kōrāṣoṭaka (*Ins. Or.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, PP. 1 & 19 f.)

248 The last part of the life of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva (II) did not end well. He sufferred from many domestic troubles. It is said that he had a concubine of his own called *Sunā-Mahādēvì* (or the Golden Queen) who was the daughter of a *Bandāli* or a poor sweet-seller, migrated from Rājasthān. *Sunā-Mahādēvì* became the most beloved *Rāṇì* in the house of the *Rājā* and she was granted all the royal privileges; a separate quarter in the palace was reserved for her comforts where she lived with adequate protection. The Chief *Rāṇì* was, however, ignored by the *Rājā*, after Sunā entered into the palace. There was an issue born to her to claim the *Gādi* after the *Rājā*. So, the Nobles, *Dorās* and *Bissoyis* of the Estate, being highly displeased with the attitude of the *Rājā* against his Chief Mahādēvī, conspired to murder the *Sunā-Mahādēvì*. Indeed, they assembled secretly in the palace in one dead of nights when the *Rājā* was absent from the town and remaining at Meliāputṭi to attend the *Dola-Yātrā* festival. The conspirators murdered the gate-keeper and fulfilled their object by throwing the lady (*Sunā-Mahādēvì*) into a well in the palace-courtyard and, in the same night, constructed a *Maṇḍapa* in the some palace where the well was, in order to hide all traces of their criminal deed. The *Rājā* returned home and found that his beloved concubine was missing where-upon he became almost mad. After some time, he was blessed with a son in A. D. 1831, through his first *Rāṇì* and also a second son in A. D. 1840. through the second *Rāṇì*. These two sons were named Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva and Rājarājeśvaradeva respectively.

Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva

Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva died on the 27th of November, 1851, at the age of 47. At this time, his legitimate heir, Pratāparudradeva, was only twenty years old;[1] and his mother was not alive at the time of the death of his father. So, he was brought up by his *dhāi* on whom the late Chief *Rāṇi* had full confidence. Meanwhile, the second *Rāṇi* was trying to gain all profits for her own son, Rājarājesvara, and seeking opportunity to pave her way by poisoning the young Pratāparudra. The *dhāi* scented the evil motive of the *Rāṇi* and wrote a secret letter to the District Collector seeking his help to save the life of the *Rājā*. The Collector immediately took action on her report and made arrangements to send the young boy to Ichāpur for his education. After this, the Estate was left under the Court of Wards for a pretty long time.

The horoscope of Pratāparudradeva



[1] Following is the date of birth of Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva which I have collected from my home-library :—
sakābda 1753—the 3rd month and 13th day.

The economic position of the Estate during the 19th century may be collected from a report by Avl. M. R. Bangara. a Special Revenue Officer, who submitted his report to the Government of Madras in 1935 in connection with the enhancement of Land-assessment, which remained unchanged in the Estate since 1867, *i. e.*, from the time when the Estate was under the management of the Court of Wards. The report describes the then prevailing Land-assessment in the Estate as follows :

The price of paddy in 1868 was Rs. 20/- per *Garce* and price of the principal dry crop, ragi, was Rs. 30/- per *Garce.*[1] The average of these grains for the ten years, preceding the date of application (1925), shows a vast increase. It is Rs. 110/- per *Garce* of paddy and Rs. 127/- per *Garce* of ragi *i. e.*, over five times the price of the paddy in 1868 and over four times the price of ragi (during the time of this report, *i. e.*, 1935).

Since the year 1868, the rent remained unaltered. The Estate was under the Court of Wards who were not anxious to enhance the rent although all the neighbouring estates took advantage of the situation and enhanced their rates. The ryots of this Estate continued to enjoy the old rents when they received five times more income for themselves. At that time, only Rs. 7/- was fixed for first-class wet-lands, being calculated its income per one acre of wet-land for one crop at Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- (per *Garce* of paddy). The rent was actually half the gross income at that time. Then, in 1925, (when the application was made), taking the same population, the rent could have been enhanced to Rs. 35/- per acre; but, only Rs. 7/- was paid by the ryots.

[1] One Garce of paddy is about 12·5 quintals or roughly 33 standered Mds.

Mr. Turning, in his letter dated 2-11-1911, says in para 6 that 'the rates of rent in this Estate are extraordinarily light, compared to any other Zamindary in the District'. The Special Revenue Officer who settled a portion of Kotturu village of this Estate in 1924, has expressed opinion in his order that 'the present rates of rent are certainly very low'. Mr. G. S. Forbes, a former Collector of Ganjam, in his letter dated 24-12-1871 to the Court of Wards (proposing the present rates for introduction) was of opinion that even in the year 1861, 'the assessment will, as existing prices, leave large profits to the cultivators.'

The Revenue Divisional Officer, Chicacole (Srikakulam), in a report, dated 26-9-1928, after making an enquiry in connection with a petition, presented by the ryots of the Estate to the Board, says: 'it is a wellknown fact that the rates of rent in Pārlākhimuṇḍi Estate are very low when compared with the rents prevailing in the neighbouring Estates'.

Referring to these reports, Mr. Bangara stated in his recommendation that "under these circumstances, it can be well imagined that the profits were on the side of the ryots when the price rose to about five times what it was in 1868. There is not the least doubt that the present rate of rent has been resulted in an enormous profit to the ryots and no benefit to the *Rājā*. The rent paid to the *Rājā* is out of all proportion to the income from the land. The rent is, therefore, certainly not fair and equitable and deserves substantial enhancement."

The Pārlākhimuṇḍi Estate, being encircled by forests and mountains, contains thousands of

well-irrigated channels, excavated by the Zamindar. According to the *Ganjam District Records* (Vol. 3916, pages 163—75, 217—20, dated 9-9-32 and 22-10-32), a Settlement Report for the *Fusli* year 1241 is given as follows :—

"The total demand is Rs. 1,52,307/-of which Rs. 91,630/- was collected leaving a balance of Rs. 60,696/-." It was only due to the reason that the Collector hoped to maintain the peace of the country with the help of the Town Peons and civil armed Peons. The Manager was quite unfit for his tuition.

In *Fusli* 1241, out of the total assessment of Rs. 2,79,437/- there was a balance of Rs. 2,770/- due to the Estate.

In the last part of the 19th century A. D., the Estate was under the management of the Court of Wards when Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva was a minor. Rājarājeśvaradeo,[1] who born to the second *Rāṇi* of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva (II), was removed from the palace of Pārlākhimuṇḍi with his mother by the Collector when Pratāparudra was taken back to Pārlākhimuṇḍi, after his minority terminated. The Collector visited the town with Pratāparudra. Camping at Meliāpuṭty, he ordered the Junior *Rāṇī* (mother of Rājarājeśvara) to evacuate from the palace with her minor son together with all her movable properties. Although the *Rāṇi* was not happy to follow this proposal, she had to leave the place, taking every bit of movables which could be collected from the Store.

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[1] Rājarājeśvara born in the cyclic year Śārvari and in the Saka year, 1762, or A. D. 1840. So, he was about nine years younger than Pratāparudradeva.

Then, she settled at Ichāpur permanently. Her line continues at Ichāpur (now in Andhra-Pradesh) up to the present day.

Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva was a great scholar in Sanskrit and *Dharmaśāstras.* He also studied the *Kāvyas* and *Nāṭakas* in Sanskrit from his *guru*, Gōvinda Dās, a *Paṇḍit* who was appointed by the Collector. The *Rājā* was only 25 years old when he married in the Cālukya family of Māchamarā. Since then, he devoted much of his times in learning the philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya along with those of Rāmānuja and Caitanya. He was a staunch follower of Śaivism, although, according to the old customs of the family, the *Rājā* should have embraced Vaiṣṇavism of the Caitanya School by selecting the *Mahanta* of Rādhākānta Maṭha of Puri as his religious *guru.* Due to his scholastic merit and critical studies of Indian Philosophy, many eminent *Paṇḍits* used to respect him and dared not appear before him for religious discourse. Indeed, he liked to live in a undisturbed quarter for which reason a separate flat in the palace was reserved for him. Due to his disinterest in the worldly affairs[1], the administration of the Estate suffered much. Knowing this, he wanted to hand over the charge of the administration of the Estate, with all interests to his eldest son, Gauracandra Gajapati, who was at that time only a young man of about 22 years old, but highly meritorious and capable of running the administration. On the 9th of April, 1888, when Pratāparudradeva was a Ward of the Court of Wards, he renounced his interest in the Zamindari with the sanction of the Court in favour of his eldest son, and executed a *Deed of Transfer* as follows :—

[1] He was a staunch believer in the existentialism and emancipation

"As you, who are my eldest son, who have attained the proper age and who are entitled to succeed after me to my right to the Taluk and to enjoy the same by right of primogeniture, and according to Hindu *Dharma Śāstra*, possessed the capacity to manage the said Taluk yourself, and as I, on account of my affection to you, have a liking to issue the reign in my own life time, as I do not see the necessity why I should retain my life-interest in the said Taluk and why the Court of Wards should manage the same on my behalf, I relinquish my life-interest in the said Taluk and its rents and profits and thereby transfer the same to you. You should, therefore, take possession of the said Taluk and the rents and profits thereafter and hereafter enjoy the same hereditarily subject to the rules of primogeniture, obtaining in our family according to the Hindu *Dharma Śāstra*. Out of the income of the said Taluk, you should pay me during my life time Rs. 5,000/- per mensem for my expenses." The Court of Wards sanctioned the transfer by the father to the son the interest he had in the Estate, subject to its validity being established by a competent Court of Justice. The main question, therefore, was settled in the District Court of Ganjam in O. S. No. 10 of 1888 where the Learned Judge discussed the question of validity of the transfer by making a thorough discussion of the problem as follows :—

"The Court of Wards appear to have assumed charge of the Zamindari from 1830 in the time of Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva, the father of the present Zamindar, and on his death on the 27th November, 1851, it was resolved that this state of things be continued. The Government's Agent in Ganjam, Mr. Onslow, apparently reported that the eldest son

and heir of the deceased Zamindar, Sri Vīra Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇadeva, the present Zamindar, to be imbecile. The Commissioner of the Northern Circars, Mr. Walter Elliot, gave his opinion that the youth, though a dull, heavy young-man, did not appear to be actually imbecile, that the Commissioner considered the Agent's opinion decisive on the young-man's incapacity to control the affairs of so large an Estate." It should be noted here that during this time the English Government which was newly established in the Northern Circars and also facing enormous difficulties in controlling the Agency tracts of Ganjam, was anxious to retain the power of administration in their own hands, and that was the time when they deprived several Zamindars of their longstanding rights and privileges and transfered their Estates into the Government-lands. It is, therefore, natural in the part of the English Officers to prove that the Zamindar of Pārlākhimuṇḍi was not capable of handling the administration due to some imaginary mental defects of his, although Pratāparudradeva was a scholar, an intelligent and religious-minded *Rājā*. His only defect (if it was so called) was that he was not materially interested in worldly affairs and in the administration, as he concluded that they were not helpful in spiritual life. His ambition was mainly depended on pursuance of religion and philosophy.

The then District Judge remarked that "the young man petitioned the Government to be let assumed the Government of the Zamindari." In forwarding his petition Mr. Onslow, on the 27th of December, 1851, wrote as follows :—

"He is not positively imbecile, but he is dull of intellect." In recommending that his Estate should

 be retained under management, I was actuated by considerations of the very important nature of the estate, its wild frontier and its imflamable Chiefs and the troubles which have been experienced in consequence of its mismanagement. If it were not for such considerations, I should not have felt justified in interfering to prevent Nārāyaṇadeo from assuming management. The affairs of an estate of an ordinary description might be entrusted to him without placing the peace of the country in jeopardy; but, I cannot consent to the adoption of any measure with regard to Pārlākhimuṇḍi which involves the slightest degree of risk."

The Government has resolved to retain the Zamindari under own management. It was based on Mr. Onslow's opinion that allowing the Zamindar to assume the management would place the peace of the country in jeopardy and he hoped that if he pursued his studies and endeavoured to qualify himself for the task of the administration of the estate, that might be made over to him in future, and mentioned of his progress was to be made in the annual reports.

In 1854, Mr. William Knox, the then Acting Collector & Agent, wrote against a proposal to make over the management of the Estate to the Zamindar's father-in-law or a member of the Estate. He wrote that "the estate has now been under our management for 24 years. It yields an average surplus after paying *Peish-cash* and all expenses, of Rs. 29,818/- and this without losing any outstanding balances. The people are flourishing and will soon, when the roads are opened to the sea, be most prosperous and it is on their behalf that I venture to beg that the system under which they are thus

thriving should not be changed. I am perfectly satisfied the Rājā is not able to manage or supervise his estate; he is so very imbecile that he is at the mercy of those about him. He is unable to give a reason for anything, but acts just as fancy or some attendant prompts him. The estate would, therefore, be given over to the tender mercy of a number of dependants, each more eager than the other to enrich himself; the villages would be cash-rented inspite of the closest supervision and, if the Collector interfered, he would at once be told that the Government *Peish-cush* could not otherwise be paid."[1]

The Government said that they are "very averse to estates, not the property of minors, being managed by their officers except on strong grounds of necessity. But, under the circumstances they felt that there was no choice but to continue the management of the Agent".

Eight extracts from the Administrative Reports (between 1858 and 1859) state that the Zamindar's mental condition was not improved. In December, 1861, the Collector Mr. C. S. Forbes reported as follows:

"Having visited Pārlākhimuṇḍi for the settlement of the Estate I have twice seen the Zamindar and watched closely as far as I was able for any indication of a change either for the better or the worse in his mental condition. I think him, if

[1] It should be noted here that Pratāparudradeva was not interested in conversation with people of lower castes as he was reciting the Vedic Hymns and doing the religious part of duty. He believed that every moment of life was precious for one to perform such rituals. It is for this reason he used to depute one of his attendants to give reply to any visitor who was not a Hindu. Probably, that principle of his confused Mr. Knox, the English Officer.

 anything, somewhat improved; he will answer any question addressed to him readily and to the purpose, but never keeps up the conversation of his own accord to make known some particular wish or to enquire the age of the person whom he has visited; his attention then seems to wander and he will begin to ask trifling question from those near him or from any peons regarding their age, caste, *etc*.

× × ×

I take this opportunity to suggest to the Court of Wards the discontinuance of the office of the guardian. I am convinced from my own observation which agrees with all that has been reported to me by the Assistant Agents who have been in Khimedi that the presence of the guardian in the palace is of no benefit whatever. He is cordially disliked by the Zamindar and has no influence over him: both the Zamindar and the Mahādevī can write and read and are quite capable of communicating with him without the intervention of the guardian".

It is clear from all these that the Zamindar Vīra Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇa Deo was never as imbecile as to be disqualified unde- Hindu Law from inheriting his Estate, and that its management was assumed by the Court of Wards and retained because it was a large and important Zamindari with a mountainous, unsettled and turbulent frontier, requiring for its efficient management more than ordinary ability and tact, and which it was obvious that a man like Vīra Pratāpa could not possibly manage without disastrous results.

Subsequently, he was treated by the Court of Wards as a person of some understanding and

intelligence, for they corresponded with him on various subjects of some importance about the minor Zamindars of Jalantara and Sāna-Khimuṇḍi coming to Pārlākhimuṇḍi to read with his son.

In 1885, the Zamindar made an application in writing that the management of the estate might be entrusted to his son, Gaura Candra Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva. The Court of Wards in their resolution of the 27th of October, 1885, (No. 221) observed: It has already been satisfactorily established by G. O. 24th February, 1882, No. 638 and G. O. 3rd April, 1882, No. 1123 that, so long as the incapacity of the proprietor continues, the Court cannot legally divest themselves of the management of the Estate, whether at his desire or for any other reason. The request for the transfer of the management could not, therefore, be entertained, and they would give permission for his son being placed in charge of a considerable portion of the Estate under the Agent, which had been done, so that his son had been trained in estate administration. The Collector, Mr. Horsefall, in his letter of the 10th of December, 1885, recorded that the "Zamindar is and, I consider, incapable of understanding the importance of the change he recommends or is made to recommend. I have no doubt the idea originated for the *Mahādēvi* and was not that the Zamindar himself." When he wrote this, Mr. Horsefall had only seen the Zamindar once in August, 1883, or the ex-Zamindar when Pratāparudra Nārāyaṇa Deo's daughter-in-law was poisoned in July, 1883, (which matter formed the subject of Session, Case No. 39 of 1883 in the District Court of Ganjam and of referred trial No. 47 of 1883 in the High Court). It was in the time when his mind was naturally unsettled by that sad event.

Mr. Horsefall has also given a different opinion. He deposed (in the Court), "I consider that he made it knowingly and willingly and with a knowledge of its effects and consequences. I still consider him imbecile but not so imbecile as not to know that (the transfer Deed)."

In the Madras High Court, finally, the question was decided in the Appeal No. 57 of 1889 against the decree of the District Court of Ganjam in O. S. No. 10 of 1888 which was filed and it was proved that "from 1873 the Court of Wards corresponded with the Zamindar on various matters specifying in paragraph 16 of his judgement (District Court of Ganjam) and the correspondence shows that his letters were rational. It is clear from what has been observed that the reasoning power was never retained in the Zamindar, that if he was imbecile his imbecility was of a very minor degree, that he had that degree of intelligence it constitutes in law a sound mind, and that this was rather a case of infirmity or weakness of intellect or inferior mental capacity not indeed unequal to the management of ordinary estate but unequal to the management of an important Zamindari at a time in which vigorous administration and intelligence of action accompanied with self-reliance and firm character were indispensable".

From the above remarks of the Hon'ble Justice of the Madras High Court (Justice Best), it is seen that the then Government was anxious to retain the power of administration of those estates which were subject to disturbances in the previous century.

Rājā Gaura Chandra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva

At the time when Gaura Chandra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva succeeded the Zamindari, it was

included in the tracts of the country in which the ordinary rules for the administration of Civil and Criminal justice as also those for the collection of revenue had ceased to have been operated and for which special rules were prescribed under Act 24 of 1839. Hence, the recommendation that the estate should be continued to be administered by the Agent in his capacity or Court of Wards, and the orders of the Government that it would be continued as heretofore under charge of the Agent, according to No. 11 of the Agency Rules (this rule 11 is printed in Board's Circular Orders, Page 565 as the same which appears in No. 8 in Mr. Slowan's Code, page 546). In 1863, however, Pārlākhimuṇḍi, except the *Maliah* portions, appears to have been removed from the operation of Act 24 of 1839 and became subject to the ordinary rules of Administration. Consequently, since then, it had been subject to the Board of Revenue as Court of Wards was constituted by Regulation 5 of 1804.

Śrī Gaura Chandra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva[1] at the age of 23 assumed the *Gādi* in the life time of his father under the virtue of the transfer deed which was finally approved by the Government, and he could run the administration very efficiently and improve the estate from various standpoints. He, at first, focussed his attention on the development of education by establishing a High School in Pārlākhimuṇḍi which was subsequently raised to a First Grade College by his son, Śrī Krushṇa Chandra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva. Mr. Taylor, a very efficient Englishman was his Adviser and Manager. With his help, he improved the domestic conditions as well as the income of the estate

[1] Horoscope of Śrī Gaura Chandra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva
Hindu date—Śaka 1784-11-23
Died in 1904 A. D.

by undertaking repairs of the irrigational channels and preserving the forest areas. He tried to include the administration of the *Maliah* portions of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, attached to his estate; but, the then policy of the British Government was not favourable to this attempt. Consequently, the *Maliahs* were excluded from it and the income of Pārlākimeḍi estate was reduced to a great extent.

He received the title of *K. C. I. E.* from the British Government in recognition of the standard of his good administration.

As Orissa was vivisected from its former position and placed under four different provinces, the Oriyas started a strong agitation for amlagamation of all the tracts in order to form a separate province of their own. In the year 1876, *Rājā* Vaikuṇṭha Nātha Deo of Balasore memoralised the Government for the unification of all the Oriya tracts. Thereupon Mr. Cooke, I. C. S., Commissioner of Orissa, wrote in his administration-report for the Orissa Division that "as a question of administrative report for which there is much to be said, I have to advocate the extension of Divisional boundaries so as to include the whole area populated by races speaking of Oriya language or, at any rate, some definite areas adjoining Orissa where the Oriya language prevails. Orissa is a very small Division both in area and population, and there is no doubt that the Commissioner could find time to deal with a very material addition to his work."

"The areas that I referred to are the Sambalpur District and Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces with the Tributary States of Pātṇā, Sonpur, Rāyarakhōl, Bāmrā, Kalāhāṇḍi and the whole or part

of the Ganjam District with the States of Kimeḍi and Goomsur..............".[1]

In 1903, some enthusiastic Oriya people assembled in the Rambhā Palace of the Rājā of Kallikot where Śrī Śyāmasundara Rājaguru was deputed by Śrī Gaura Chandra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva to represent the Oriyas of South Ganjam. They chalked out a scheme to form a national conference of the Oriya people whose first session was held at Berhampore under the Presidentship of the Rājā of Khallikōṭa. On the 2nd of April, 1903, a meeting of the citizens of Cuttack, convened under the auspices of the Orissa Association, resolved that a memorial be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Governor General of India and that the prayer of the memorial be the transfer to the Orissa Division of the Oriya-speaking portions of the Districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Sambalpur, Chota-Nagpur and Midnapore, so far as this can be done, having regard to territorial contiguity *etc.* Meanwhile, the proposal for partition of Bengal, in order to relieve the excessive administrative burden of the Governorship of Bengal by creation of a Lieutenant Governorship for Eastern Bengal and Assam, was made by Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, who included in his scheme the union of the Whole of the Oriya-speaking people, both hill and plain, under one administration and to give that administration to Bengal, thus compensating for the loss from Bengal of its eastern territories. The letter No. 3678 of Risley, Home Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 3-12-1903, copies of which were sent to the other provincial Governments, expatiates on the merit of the scheme so far as the problem of

[1] *Calcutta Gazetteer, Supplement*, dated 23rd October, 1855, Page 2357

 the Oriyas was concerned. The letter suggests "such a scheme would solve the question of language once and for all. This change would relieve both the Central Provinces and Madras[1] of a troublesome acquisence upon their administrative systems and it would result in handing over the Oriya problem to the Government alone, on a scale and with a unity that would admit of its being treated with consistency and efficiency."

The first session of the Utkal Union Conference, held in 1903 at Cuttack, was attended by the then Chiefs of Talcher, Keonjhar, Attagarh, Dhenkanal and the Rājās and Zamindars of Ganjam. Meanwhile, Lord Curzon's proposals for the partition of Bengal had been severally criticised in the country and attempts were made to give expression to this feeling of dissatisfaction in the 19th Session of the Indian National Congress which met during December of the same year under the Presidentship of Lal Mohan Ghosh. It should be borne in mind that the Bengalis who were vehemently opposing the formation of a separate province for Oriyas, took active part in smashing the desire of the Utkala Union Conference, expressed from time to time. In the Subjects Committee of the Utkal Conference, Mr. G. Raghava Rao of Berhampore, who seconded the resolution, exposed the underhand dealings of the interested parties. Even learned people from Tamil area, like Mr. V. Krishna Swami Aiyar, admitted the soundness of the principle (of which objection was made to the partition of Bengal) made a determined stand against the proposal to abandon the question of amalgamation of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency from Orissa. Throughout the course of Oriya agitation,

[1] Modern Madhya Pradesh and Tamilnad

the Rājā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, Sri Goura Candra Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva, was expressing his willingness to go to any province with his neighbouring Zamindars and Rājās. He expressed this view from time to time and with him the able and well-educated men among the Oriyas in Pārlākhimuṇḍi, Mr. S. S. Rājaguru, was taking active parts. Śrī Padmanābha Nārāyaṇa Deo,[1] the Mahārāja's brother, who was also a highly cultured young man, devoted much of his time and energy in the cause of the country and for upliftment of Oriya literature. He wrote several dramas in Oriya namely, *Dhruva*, *Padmāvati-svayaṁbara*, *Bāṇadarpadalana*, *Candrāvatiharaṇa* etc., which were staged in a pendal constructed under his patronage and that was considered to be the first theatre in the whole of Orissa. Some Oriya people of North Orissa began to criticise the language which he adopted in these dramas and two newspapers started for it in Cuttack under the caption of *Bijuli* and *Indradhanu*. The literary mass of Orissa divided into two groups—the majority group supporting Sri Padmanābha Deo and his followers.[2] He was a lover of education and extended help to many poor students, reading in the local High School.

Maharaja Sri Krushnachandra Gajapati Narayanadeva

Maharaja Sri Krushnachandra Gajapati Narayanadeva was born in April, 1892. His brother, Rajaraja deva, died in a very early age. The Maharaja also lost his father in 1904 when he was a student of the local High School. His private tutor, Appana Panda, was a scholar and wrote some books in Oriya namely, the *Chanda-saṅgraha*, *Padmanābha-jīvanī*, *Kavi-jīvanī*, *Ḍhagaḍhamāli* etc. The young boy was

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[1] Padmanābha N. Deo born in Saka 1794-8-3 (1872 A. D.) and died in 1904 A. D.

[2] Vide the *Prabandhāvali* by S. S. Rajaguru

guided by Mr. W. Taylor, the Ex-Secretary and Manager of his father and Syamasundara Rajaguru, the then Chairman of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Municipality.

At the age of thirteen, he was admited in the Newington College of Madras in which none except students of aristocratic families were allowed to get admission. His two English tutors namely, Messers Cameron Morrison and Dala Hay, brought up him well. The former was a reputed disciplinarian and rendered fatherly treatment to his young pupil which bound the boy with so much of loyalty that three years later, *i. e.*, in 1916, he constructed a lofty College-building at Pārlākhimuṇḍi naming it *The Morrison Extension.*

In 1913, he completed the college course and returned back to Pārlakhimuṇḍi when the charge of the Estate was transfered to him by the Court of Wards.

The first German-War broke out in 1914. In that year, the Oriya movement for amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts under one administration, took a new phase. The Tenth Session of the *Utkal Union Conference* was held at Pārlākhimuṇḍi in 24-12-1914, under the Presidentship of Sri Vikramadeva Varma, the Maharaja of Jayapur and the maternal uncle of the Maharaja of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. The Conference was well represented by Oriyas from all Oriya-speaking areas. Many leading personels, *Viz.*, Mr. M. S. Das, Phakiramohan Senapati, Gopabandhu Das, Brajasundara Das, Bisvanatha Kar, Gopalachandra Praharaja, Narayanachandra Dhira Narendra, Godavarisa Misra, Sasibhushana Ray, Krushnachandra Acharya, Srivacha Panda, Sadasiba Vidyabhushana, Nilamani Vidyaratna, Radhakrushna Das Babaji, Jagabandhu Simha, and the *Rājās* and *Rāj-kumārs* of Madhupur,

Tekkali, Mandasa, Tarala, Kanika etc. attended and took active parts in that deliberation. The young Rājā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, being the chief host and organizer of the conference, had became a very attractive figure in that assembly. Mr. M. S. Das in his speech appreciated him remarking : "the young Rājā, so to say, is the chief of the Volunteer Organisation". As a matter of fact, the seeds of patriotism with national characteristic were sown in his heart and mind when he was only twenty-one years of old. In the latter age, his activities and leadership in the cause of the Oriyas were so dynamic and glorious that his biography will form an important chapter in the history of Orissa. We, therefore, cannot ignore to examine his activities from the historical point of view.

In 1913, his marriage in the royal family of Kharswan at Singbhum (Bihar) and the *Abhiṣeka* (consecration) celibration simultaneously took place at Pārlākhimuṇḍi. He made sacred-gifts in favour of the *Vana-vidyālaya* at Sakhigopal, *Utkala-Kutira* (hostel) and *Sāhitya Samāja* of Cuttack, etc. for which, Pandit Gopabandhu Das, Mr. M. S. Das and Gopalchandra Praharaja had highly eulogized him in the news papers of Orissa.[1]

His first charitable work was started when he granted a huge amount of money for construction of a new college-building at the foot of the Bhoisāhi Hill in Pārlākhimuṇḍi. It was completed in 1916 and named in commemoration of his tutor, Mr. Morrision. He also constructed a double-storied hostel where many poor and deserving students were granted free-boarding apart from free-scholarship. In the memory of his bereaved uncle, Padmanabhadeva, he opend a

[1] *The Utkal-Dipikā* (Oriya Weekly Journal), dt. 31-5-1913 & 14-6-1913.

separate fund for the above purpose. For development of literary activities among the Oriyas, he also built a dramatic house named "Padmanābha-raṅgālaya".[1]

He constructed a very beautiful and luxurious palace called "The Vasanta-nivāsa" on the bank of the river, Mahendra-tanayā, at a distance of about two miles from the Old Palace.

In 1916, he was nominated by the Government to hold the post of Honorary Commissioner of the Land-Force of the Defence of India. His sincere and efficient discharge of duties in this affair brought for him the title of *Rājā-Saheb* in 1918, which was also made hereditary in 1922.

The Oriya demand for unification of the out-lying Oriya tracts under one administration was moved in 1922, in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Madras, Bihar and Orissa. Thereafter, the Central Government appointed a Commission with two *I. C. S.* Officers namely, Messrs. C. L. Phillip and A. C. Duff, to enquire and report about the willingness of the people of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts regarding amalgamation. The leading Oriyas of these two Districts, including the Rājās and Zamidars of Jayapur, Pārlākhemuṇḍi, Mandasa, Tekkali, Jalantara etc., expressed their views in strong emphatic term supporting the demanded amalgamation. The Maharaja of Pārlākhemuṇḍi suggested for the formation of a separate Province for the Oriyas on linguistic basis instead of mere amalgamation of bits. His suggestion gave a new shape to the Oriya-Movement as it was based on the principles of formation of linguistic provinces, recommended in the *Montague and Chelmsford Report*; for Reforms. Mr. M. S. Das did not accept that

[1] Unfortunately, that nice building was demolished and the institution is no more existing.

proposal of the Mahārājā, fearing of its impracticability; but, the Mahārājā maintained optimistic views. Mr. Phillip, who was the Commissioner of Orissa Division in 1930, gave a favourable report to the Government in support of the Oriya-demands. Some times after, in a public meeting he expressed, "Our recommendation in the Committee report of 1924 was mostly guided by the views and wishes of the Mahārājā of Pārlākhemuṇḍi."

In 1930, the Attlee Sub-Committee also approved the idea of forming a separate Province for the Oriyas.

Before he laid his head and heart in the cause of Mother-Utkal, the premature demise of his *Rāṇi*, leaving four young kids in the cradle, was an unbearable shock to him. After this, he inflexibly denied for a second marriage. The strength of mind which he possessed brought him manyfold successes in life.

Three years prior to the first session of the Round Table Conference, the Government of India appointed the Simon Commission, in 1928, at the recommendation of the Attlee Sub-Committee, to present a report on India's Territorial Reforms. But, owing to India's political chaos for independence, the Congress resolved not to render any co-operation to that Commission. At this critical juncture many Oriya Leaders, who belonged to the Utkal Congress Party, could not take part in the Orissa affairs, although many of them were eager to represent their demands for unification of Oriya tracts before the Commission.

At this stage, the Mahārājā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi did not remain silent as he was fully aware of the seriousness of the situation and said : "now or never

is the problem we are facing. Should we afford to miss the chance of getting justice from the Government ? Certainly not. We must have to guard our own interest, or else none will help us." That sparkling stimulation roused enthusiasm in the minds of many young and old. The Simon Commission indeed received hearty co-operation from the Oriyas, which contradicted the Congress decision. The Mahārājā's personal appeal to the Commission at Madras in 1928, however, followed soon a large deputation of the Oriyas, lead by Sri Brajasundara Das of Cuttack in 1929, and impressed the Commission so deeply that not only Mr. Simon recommended for creation of a separate Orissa Province but also the matter got full appreciation and assent in front pages of the News Papers, in India and abrod.*

In 1927, when the *Royal Agriculture Commission* was appointed to report for re-organisation of agricultural institutions in India, the Mahārājā was taken to it as the only Indian member and Lord Linlithgow, the Chairman of the Commission, used to accept most of his suggestions as he himself experimented some improved methods of Agriculture and Animal-husbandry put into operation in the *Home-Form* at Pārlākhimuṇḍi which was established by the sole supervision of the Mahārājā.

During the course of his tour with the Royal Commission, the Mahārājā visited Rengoon in Burma, where he met hundreds and thousands of Oriya labourers and advised them to adopt a social reform

* In the Calcutta Session of the A. I. C., Sri Motilal Nehuru condemned the Oriyas in his speech which caused Pandit Nilakantha Das and some other Oriyas leave the meeting on protest ; and afterwards, Motilal withdrew his statement.

and to live with their own families; because, he heard about sensual habits of the Burmise girls attracting many young Oriyas in that foreign country. Such unhealthy incidents ruined many poor families in Orissa. Like his fore-fathers, he started on pilgrimage to *Catur-dhāma* (four religious Centers of India) *Viz.*, Jagannātha, Badrināth, Dwārakānātha and Rāmanātha. After he returned from the pilgrimage, the Governor of Madras nominated him as the Indian Member of the *Royal Agriculture Commission.* The total amount that accumulated towards his Travelling Expenses with the Commission was Rs. 1,12,000/- which he received from the Government and donated the whole amount for establishment of a Nutrition Research at Coonoor.

A short while after this, in 1930, he contested the election of the Madras Legislative Assembly from the Ganjam Constituency when he secured the largest number of votes and returned to the Assembly with success. Thereafter, his reputation and popularity at Madras attracted not only the Government officers but also many distinguished leaders of South India. It made him a very important figure in the *Justice Party*, organized under the Presidentship of the Rājā of Panagal. He also became the sole leader of the *Madras Land-holders Association.*

At this stage, he was recommended by the Government of Bihar and Orissa, to represent the Oriyas in the First Round Table Conference, held at London in 1931. Unfortunately, by the time he reached at London, the Preparation of agenda for that Session of the R. T. Conference was over, leaving no chance for him to move any resolution for creation of a new province for Oriyas. He found that the object of the 10 millions of Oriya people would be frustrated

unless he used his personal influence on the British Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India in this matter. Then, it is he who alone knows what miracles he could perform which enabled him to move the resolution in the Conference on the strength of a special permission from the President which surprised many members, present there. While moving the resolution for the formation of "Orissa Province", he delivered a nice speech which must be a monumental document in the history of the Oriya People. We quote it hereunder :—

"Sir, on behalf of ten millions of Oriyas, the subjects of His Majesty, I rise to represent their long-standing grievances on this occasion. The memorandum I have placed in your hand a few days since has been able, I hope, to give a clear insight into all the present difficulties of the Oriyas who are placed under four different provinces, I will not tire you with the details of the history for unification of the Oriyas, agitating as they have been for the last quater of a century and more. As one well-informed of the facts, I should lay before you all today that the formation of a separate province for the Oriyas is a life and death problem to them. They feel tortured with all the disabilities and disadvantages of on being a distant adjunct lying at the tail-end of every Province wherever they are far a way from the seat of Government of the respective Province, and always in a unique minority, completely lost sight, being merged in the teaming millions of population of those Provinces.

I appeal to you all, gentlemen, to appreciate the peculiar position of the Oriyas and their demand, as recommended by several official bodies time after

time. We want a Province of our own on the basis of language and race, to be ourselves a homogeneous unit with feelings of contentment and peace, to realise and be benifited by the projected reforms of India by both Indian and British politicians, who look forward to the day when the United States of India will consist of small federated States, based on common language and race. Without a separate Province for the ten millions of Oriyas let me tell you, Sir, that all your labours at this conference to develop Parliamentary institutions in Provinces with autonomous powers will prove on the contrary, seriously injurious to the Oriyas.

The patience with which we have waited and loyality to the British Crown with which we have looked up to always for justice, sympathy and fair treatment have proved as Lord Curzon put in once, '*Were the Orissans agitating people, which they are not, they would soon make their protest heard. As it is, they have been sacrificed without compunction.*'

I am right, I think, Sir, in any presumption, that you all consider the Oriya problems as the least controversial of all the problems that this conference has had to deal with. You are aware that the Simon Commission, the Government of India Despatch and all the Provincial Governments concerned have recognised the urgent necessity for the immediate solution of the question. The question of finance, however, is evidently the only obstacle in the way of their recommending the formation of a separate Province for the Oriyas. My answer to that is that finance is not, after all, a fence of such insurmountable dimensions when we have to save a great historic race with an ancient civilisation and culture, from

 being obliterated. The old saying: '*cut your coat according to the cloth*' if strictly applied, comes to the rescue to a great extent in forming the long-sought after Orissa Province; and again, I am fully confident that the Central Government with the same feelings of benefaction will come to the rescue of the New Province as it did in the case of Assam, Bihar and Orissa, when first they were created. One redeeming feature, however, which I should point out to you is that we will be starting with hardly any debts; but on the other hand, with appreciably more income than Assam had to start with. At page 404 of the Memorandum, submitted by the Government of Bihar and Orissa to Indian Satutory Commission, we gather that the annual revenue of the Orissa Division of Bihar and Orissa would be about 10 millions of rupees, and I am sure that with the addition of districts as recorded by different Official bodies with their gathered evidences of the people of those parts, and the people of other adjoining Oriya-speaking areas, that may be recorded by the Boundary Commission, will bring in about 20·2 millions of rupees to solve the financial difficulty. I may illustrate that the Agency tracts with their scope for excise revenue, large areas of waste lands that are being developed and valuable forest produce, will contribute largely to the Provincial funds. In addition to this there is an extensive coastal land, containing large sheets of salt-pans and scope of shipping between different parts of the Empire, further to increase the Provincial revenue. I can also assure you, Sir, that if circumstances so necessiate, we the Oriyas are prepared to bear the burden of special taxation to meet any financial deficit of the future Province.

Without further encroaching upon your valuable time, enough I have been able to impress you, gentlemen, with the urgency of the problem. It is for you to make or mar the destiny of an ancient race, vast in numbers, cultured and advanced, but placed under painful circumstances now, though their past was bright and full of unique interest and of historical importance as those of any of the present advanced communities of India."

The manner in which he put his thought in this short speech was so touching that none, present at the conference, did oppose the creation of a separate Orissa Province; on the other hand, the suggestion received unanimous support. The mode of his tone was not forgotten by many who were present there. In this connection we like to cite the following passage from a speech, by Sri Sachidananda Sinha, delivered in the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council on the 2nd September, 1932 :—

"It is my duty to mention the great work done for the Oriya race by the Rājā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi as a Member of the Round Table Conference and Orissa Boundary Committee. Sir Sultan Ahmad (The Chief Justice of Behar and Orissa) was present at the R. T. Conference, and he will support me when I say that the Rājā made an exceedingly fine speech and it was a result of his advocacy that the R. T. Conference came to an agreement that this question of Orissa should be considered and gone into. I may also say from my personal experience that the Rājā did remarkably good work and fought every inch of ground for incorporating the largest Oriya-speaking area possible to the new Province......" Sixteen years after, in July, 1948, Sir Sultan Ahmad also said in

Tea-Party* at Cuttack, arranged on the eve of inauguration of the Orissa High Court :—

"The Maharaja's arguments in the R. T. Conference got the unanimous support of the members of the Conference. The Maharaja was the noblest of the noblemen of Orissa".

At an interview, Sir Samual spoke to Mr. B. Das, "the Maharaja of Pārlākhimuṇḍi put the case of the Orissa Province at the First Round Table Conference in 1931 and laid stress on it with the result that the British Government came to the conclusion that the time had come to re-unite the Oriya-speaking areas under their own separate Province and Oriya populace are under distinct obligation to this distinguished representation who pressed their cases".

We have already stated that the speech, delivered by the Maharaja in the Round Table Conference on 6-1-1931, gained unanimous support and without any loss of time Sir Samual Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, announced the formation of the Orissa Province. The Maharaja dispatched that happy news from London by a cablegram on 19-1-31 to the Oriya leaders of Cuttack, whereupon a big meeting in the Town Hall of Cuttack was organized under the Presidentship of Dewanbahadur Sri Krushna Mahapatra, who, in his speech panegyrized the Maharaja saying : "Sri Krushna Chandra Gajapati is the King of Kings to the Oriya Race."

* The author was also present in that Tea-Party, organized by Mr. Asaf Ali, the then Governor of Orissa, and remembers well how the Maharaja, after sipping a cup of coffee that was added with jaggery insted of sugar, enquired "What they put herein ?" The author replied, "it is the *Gur* used in the Governor's Coffee, demonstrating the Orissa's poverty". He smiled.

During the census operation in 1931 at Madras Presidency, the Oriyas of Ganjam and Visakhapatna Districts became watchful to safeguard their own interest, as from the past records they found that their number in the Presidency was artificially reduced on account of manipulation by some Andhra Enumerators.* The object of the Andhras was not to spare a single inch of land from Ganjam or Visakhapatnam to go to Orissa as demanded by the Oriyas. In this movement the members of the *Utkal-Hitaishiṇī-Samāj* of Pārlākhimuṇḍi took a timely and proper lead inspite of all stiff oppositions and threatenings that they received from two powerful English I. C. S. Officers namely, Mr. Dixon, the Collector of Ganjam and Mr. Yeats, the Census Superintendent of Madras. But, it was only through the sponsorship of the Maharaja of Pārlākhimuṇḍi that the Oriyas could resist the pressure.

In the same year, the Orissa Boundary Committee, consisting of three members and two assesors, was formed to fix up the boundaries of the New Province of Orissa. Mr. O' Donell was its Chairman and Messers Phookan of Assam and Meheta of Bombay were the members. On behalf of the Andhras, Mr. C. V. S. Narasimha Raju and that of the Oriyas, the Maharaja of Pārlākhimuṅḍi were nominated as Assesors. At Gopalpur (Ganjam), the Boundary Committee received evidence and Memorandums from the two main contesting parties, namely the Andhras and Oriyas. On behalf of the Government of Madras, Mr. Yeats, (the Census Superintendent), gave evidence counterploting against the Oriya demands. Although the two Indian Members (messers Phookan and Meheta)

* The Census Reports of 1901, 1911 and 1921 proved that in the Madras Presidency, the population of all the minority races had steadily increased while that of the Oriyas decreased from decade to decade.

 were not convienced in his arguments and recommended for inclusion of the Zamindaries of Pārlākhimuṇḍi and Jaypur in Orissa. Mr. O' Donell, the Chairman, did not support them. He was guided by the evidence of Mr. Yeats and suspected the Maharaja's influence on the Andhras who expressed to go to Orissa with him. The Committee did not give much heed to the affairs of inclusion of any Oriya-speaking tract from Singbhum of Behar and Midnapur of Bengal.

It created despondency of the whole of Oriya race. In order to express their claims with agglomeration the *All Parties Conference* was organized at Cuttack, being initiated by the *Utkal-Hitaishiṇī-Samāj* of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. The author, together with Raibahadur Damodara Rath of Nimapara, was deputed to make adequate arrangements for the Conference in which they passed a resolution unanimously urging that "no Province was acceptable by the Oriyas unless and until atleast the Estates of Pārlākhimuṇḍi and Jaypur were included in Orissa". The resolution was moved by Sri Lingaraj Panigrahi and supported by many who belonged to different Political Sections.

In the Summer of 1932, the Maharaja satrted for England to attend the third Session of the Round Table Conference. This time, Sri Bhubanananda Das, Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, accompanied him. In August of the same year, a special Session of the Utkal Union Conference was held at Berhampur (Ganjam) under the Presidentship of Sri Lakshmidhara Mahanti. The Conference stressed upon the necessity of a deputation, headed by the Maharaja to wait upon Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy of India. Accordingly, the Maharaja and members interviewed the Viceroy at Simla and explained

him all the problems relating to the boundaries of the New Province.

Lord Willingdon, considering the validity of his arguments, despatched his official recommendation to the Secretary of State for re-considertion of the question.

Inspite of all these streneous affords, no material result could be achieved. It was mainly due to the strong apposition initiated by the Government of Madras and also the Andhras againt the Oriya-demand.

The *White-Paper* was published on 17-3-1933, in which it is found that the Estates of Pārlākhimuṇḍi and Jaypur were not included in Orissa. It caused great dissatisfaction among all sections of the Oriyas and the second phase of their agitation commenced.

A Special Session of the Utkal Union Conference was held at Cuttack on the 12th February, 1933, under the Presidentship of Mr. B. Das. In that Conference Mr. M. S. Das said : "We have all been long agitating for our cause by petitions, memorandum, deputations and resolutions. All these availed us nothing. But, the personal influence of the Maharaja of Pārlākhimuṇḍi over Sir Samual Hoare, Secretary of State, and other members of the Round Table Conference worked wonders, as a result of which we have got the announcement of the separate Province. Now, that the question of areas, specially Pārlākhimuṇḍi and Jaypur, are concerned. The Maharaja will surely gain his point by his personal influence." The Maharaja expressed in his speech the aim and objects of the Oriya nationality in a very striking manner.

Again, we like to quote the following remarks of his (Mr. M. S. Das) at Cuttack, before some

 advocates who assembled in the Bar-Library, soon after he returned from an interview with Sir James Stifon, the Home Member :—

"Sir Stifon eulogised the services rendred to the Oriya people by the Rājā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. He said that the right man was recommended by the Behar and Orissa Government to represent the people of Orissa at the Round Table Conference". Sir Stifon further stated that, "he followed the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and was emphatically of opinion that the long and continuous agitation of him (Mr. Das) had at last been crowned with success through the labours and sacrifice of the Rājā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi at the opportune and appropriate moment."

This time, the Mahārājā resolved to sink or sail upon this pertinent boundary issue, which was then pending for final decision by the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons and House of Lords, under the Chairmanship of Lord Linlithgow, one of the Mahārājā's intimately known British Statesman. We like to point out here that in 1927, when the *Royal Agriculture Commission* was formed, the Mahārājā was selected to it as the only Indian Member, Lord Linlithgow being the Chairman and they worked together for about two years. The function of the *Joint Select Committee* was to finalize the Constitutional Reforms of India as was proposed in the Round Table Conference. The Mahārājā sailed in the Steamer, *S. S. Mooltan*, in which Sir Courtney Terrel (afterwards Chief Justice of the Behar & Orissa Common High Court), was his co-passenger.

At the same time, the "Orissa Administration Committee" was formed in India, in October, 1933,

under the Chairmanship of Sir John Hubback who afterwards came as the first Governor of Orissa. In one of his letters, addressed to Mr. M. S. Das, he expressed his deep concern relating to the absence of the Mahārājā from that Committee. He wrote, "You must be very much gratified to think that the object which you have had at heart for many years is now in sight of fulfilment. One thing which I miss is that the Rājā of Pārlākhimunḍ the Prime mover for the creation of the Province, could not be associated with us in our task. During Committee-meeting I felt it as a great gap. However, I hope that in time he may have to be associated with future Government of Orissa."

Starting from India until the end of his task in the Joint Select Committee at London, he did not miss a single opportunity for fulfilment of his objects, *i. e.*, the inclusion of Pārlākhimunḍi and Jaypur in Orissa. His following letter, dated 2-5-1933, to Mr. M. S. Das from the Ship (*S. S. Mooltan*) will prove how he was anxious to achieve the objects :—

"My Dear Mr. Das,

I just had a talk with your friend (Sir Courtney Terrel), the Chif Justice of Behar and Orissa. He has nothing but praise to you and all of us. I am lucky in having on board of this Steamer, my sincere old friends and Colleagues that had worked with me in the first Round Table Conference ; Sir Henry Gidney, M. L. A. and N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., and the Dewan of Sangli, and glad to say that they are very very sympathetic indeed. As I have got a printed memorandum on Pārlākhimunḍi, dealing with all aspects, I have

circulated a copy to each one of them. I have to give one to the Chief Justice also whom I find very sympathetic and a great friend of the Oriyas……".

After arriving at London in May, 1933, he placed the printed Memorandum before the authorities and strongly advocated for inclusion of the Oriya portions of Pārlākhimuṇḍi in Orissa. The author himself associated in preparing the map that demarcated the boundaries of South Orissa basing on the approved principles of language and population figures which varied from time to time owing to manipulations that poluted the Census Records of Madras.* The members of the Joint Select Committee, headed by Lord Linlithgow, were fully convinced about justification of the Oriya demand. Accordingly, they recommended inclusion of the Oriya-speaking portions of the Estates of Jaypur and Pārlākhimuṇḍi which was implemented in no time.

In 1930, the Mahārājā discovered that Mr. M. S. Das, the great leader of the *Utkal-Sammilani*, was under financial difficulties owing to diminution of his professional income. He was over-burdened by heavy debts and even his living-house was under Court-attachment. At this stage, none in Orissa could save him from that lamentable situation. But, the Mahārājā considered sympathetically how he could help the old Lawyer. He questioned himself, why a man of his position should accept any free-gift ? So, he contrived to start with a civil-suit against the Government of Behar and Orissa on the plea of modification of the tenure of his estate at Delang and to carry out the suit

* In 1953, when the States Reorganisation Commission was formed and visited Pārlākhimuṇḍi, the author was deputed by the Government of Orissa to write a memorandum and to give evidence on behalf of the South Orissa people and the Utkal Hitaiṣiṇi-Samāja at Pārlākhimuṇḍi. In this memorandum a clear picture of it is given.

he employed Mr. M. S. Das, *Bar-at-Law*, as his lawyer. It gave an adequate alleviation to the old leader ; and this kind of charity of the Mahārājā reminded us an English saying : 'joy of wealth is generocity !'

The day of inauguration of the separate Province of Orissa in the 1st April, 1936, was commenced with a *Darbar*, held in the Ravenshaw College-Hall at Cuttack, in which Sir Courtney Terrel, the Chief Justice of Patna, administered the oath to Sir John Hubback, the first Governor of Orissa. In the afternoon, a garden-party was arranged by the Mahārājā in the historic Fort of Bārabāṭi, attended by thousands of gentlemen, official and non-official. The glory of success of the party goes to Sri Lakhminarayana Patnaik (father of Sri Biju Patnaik) who was then acting as the Manager of Pārlākhimuṇḍi Samasthanam.

One year later, in 1-4-1937, the Governor of Orissa invited the Mahārājā to form the first Ministry O rissa as per the Government of India Act, 1935.

After being assumed the *gādi* of the *Prime-Minister* (this designation was subsequently changed to *Chief-Minister*), the Mahārājā visited, for the first time, the Great Temple of Jagannātha at Puri when the Gajapati Mahārājā, Sri Ramachandradeva, as per the old custom, recieved him cerimonially at the out-skirts of the town and led him to the *Śrī-Mandira*. This type of honour was never granted, as a rule, to any other Rāj-family except the Gaṅgavaṁśis of Pārlākhimuṇḍi, whose ancestors have constructed and maintained the great temple (*Śrī-Mandira*) in the good old days. The Mahārājā also received the royal honour from the *Paṇḍās* and *Sevakas* of the Temple whom he enriched, after *darśan*, by throwing gold coins on the *Ratan-siṁhāsana* in accordance to the convention of the

 Gaṅgavaṁśi-Rājās. The Government conferred on him the title of *Mahārājā* in 1936 in recognition of his honour and merit.

The ministry of Orissa soon dissolved when the Assembly was re-constituted after the general election. This time, the Congress Party was in majority and it formed the ministry under the leadership of Sri Biswanath Das. Although the new ministry attempted to implement some progressive schemes like the 'Land Reform' etc., they could do nothing, as within a short time the 'Quit India' movement was started and the Congress participation in the Government organisations was refrained.

In such a chaotic moment, Sir John Hubback retired in 1941, and his place was filled up by Sir Hawtharne Lewis who acted as the Governor of Orissa for five years, *i. e.*, from 1941 to 1946.

In 1942, the Mahārājā was invited to form the ministry, and for the second time he assumed the Chief-ministership and selected some eminent persons like Pandit Godavarisa Misra and Sri M. G. Patnaik as his Colleagues in the Cabinet. This time, he could successfully run the administration without a fall or flaw. It is not out of place to say that not a single case of corruption was ever noticed during the period of his tenure. A great constitutionalist like Sri Biswanath Das, while sending a greeting message on the occasion of the Mahārājā's 78th birthday ceremony in 1969, has stated—

"He was also the Chief Minister of Orissa, member of the Constituent Assembly and Union Parliament. During his Chief-ministership, no one ever accused him of corruption."

Among his many-fold activities in the Government level, he established a Medical College at Cuttack and personally donated a large amout of money for its improvements under the name of his bereaved *Rāṇi*.

The next glorious work which he had undertaken was the creation of a separate University in Orissa. To fulfil this object, he moved the 'Utkal University Bill (Act XIII of 1943) which was unanimously accepted in the Assembly in the 30th June, 1943. In the 27th November of the same year, the first inaugural session of the University was held at Cuttack.

After the University Act was passed, the Mahārājā delivered a short speech in the House as quoted here under :—

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, to my mind there is no doubt that today is a red-letter day in the history of our Province. Well, Sir, I am proud to say that after a good deal of trouble and tireless efforts both by my Hon'ble Colleague (Pandit Godavarisa Misra who was the Minister of Education in Orissa) and the help which he has received from the Secretariat to whom we are ever so thankful for this Bill, has been passed into Law today. Sir, members of this House have been extremely gracious enough to compliment me on what I have done, on what humble little I have contributed by my endeavours to give birth to a separate University for Orissa. This University has been long waited for by the student population of this Province. I am really thankful to those that have felt it necessary to compliment me on my humble service but, Sir, let me assure them that if at all I have contributed any help, it is with a

sense of duty that I feel I owe not only to this Province but to Oriya as a whole, and to which nation I am proud to belong. Today, Sir, I must say that what I have done was entirely to keep up the traditions of the family and to tread the honourable and most worthy foot-steps of my great and revered father. He was the great pioneer to start this idea in a hidden corner of the province, and to take enlightenment to wilderness and that is why Pārlā-khemuṇḍi today possesses an institution which deserved congratulations at the hands of so many people here. Just one point, Sir, I should like to place before the House. It has been mentioned by my Hon'ble friend in the corner there that all should be treated alike. In Pārlākhemuṇḍi, if he thinks of paying a visit, he will have opportunity to observe that there is no caste distinction so far as education is concerned. I might state here that my *Purohit's* son* and my washerman's son—I have seen with my own eyes, were sitting together in common seats and were receiving instruction in the class.

There is no restriction also so far as members of his community, termed as depressed class people, are concerned in Pārlākhemuṇḍi service. In my own Eastate service, I have always worked for the upliftment of the depressed class people. It will be of interest to the Hon'ble members of this House if I say that a washerman was working as a Revenue Inspector in my Eastate and he was treated as an equal with his co-workers. ** We are, as a family, true believers in the religion that we follow, that is the

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* The author himself was his *Purohit's* son. In 1918, during a surprise visit of the Mahārājā to the High School, he noticed the author took his seat on a bench where his washerman's son was also sitting and the Mahārājā passed by with a smiling face.

** It was a rare instance of thirty years ago.

great teachings of Chaitanya. We feel everybody alike not only in utterances but in thoughts and deeds. I should remind the Hon'ble member at this stage that while distributing scholarships and helps to the school going population, special care is always taken to see that class is provided with adequate support and adequate help. I am glad to say that with such help from Pārlākhemuṇḍi many people are holding offices even in Government services of different states. So, Sir, I am sure that when a lead has been given to that extent by an humble person in private life, there will be nothing wanting to maintain that feeling in the University of this province and especially when I have the co-operation of his as well as others who are equally interested to see that the interests of that class are safeguarded. Well, Sir, I should not like to take up much of your time and before I take my seat let me thank you once more and to gentlemen through whose co-operation and support today my Party-Government has been able to achieve this separate University which has long sought for and which was a real need of the Province to uplift and to encourage different classes of Oriya Society in literacy."

The Bill was supported by one and all in the Assembly and the action taken by him was highly appreciated. Inspite of all such good attempts for ameliorating the standrad of the Oriyas, the Ministry had to face pernicious move from a few Congress Party Members, such as Dr. H. K. Mahatab and his followers.

The National-Party of Orissa published a Weekly News Paper in Oriya, entitled the *Utakal Hitaiṣiṇi* *

* The author was its Editor and the late Sri Godavarish Mahapatra, who afterwards became editor of *The Niākhuṇṭā*, was the Joint Editor.

 through which the main principles of the Party and the necessity of services to the "*Mother Utkal first and Mother India next*" were ventilated.

The Mahārājā donated the entire amount of his Pay and Travelling Allowances (which he received as the Prime-Minister) to the Utkal University funds for its betterment. His charity to the poor was illustrious when he mobilized the whole army of the Government servents in the affairs of relief work at the moment when the country was passing through a very hectic period owing to the Second World War. He took the leadership of the Home-guard-organisation in Orissa. Those who witnessed the horror and devastation of hundreds and thousands of human lives owing to shortage of food and cloth, can scarcely forget the humanitarian activities, undertaken by the Mahārājā in Orissa. As a matter of fact, his untiring agility saved numerous families from misery and perplexity.

Sri Bhikari Charan Patnaik, in his report as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Silver Jubilee of the *Utkal-Sammilani*, held at Cuttack in 1953, referred to some glorious achievements of the Mahārājā in the following words of compliment :—

"The Mahārājā of Pārlākhimuṇḍi adorned the *gādi* of Prime Minister of Orissa on two occasions and during his tenure he has greatly advanced the cause of administration and cultural affairs in Orissa. We have got the Utkal University, Medical College and a number of Arts Colleges in Orissa through his good offices and we, as a greatful nation, should forever remember him for the blessing he has bestowed on the Oriyas. The Mahārājā's head and heart and

his indomitable courage and perseverance and his undaunted energy and sacrifice for the cause of Mother Utkal will forever shine and guide Orissa Government in taking up a rightful place in future India and the nation-building activities which he initiated will be pursued in the right earnest."

When there was a great controversy going on between some leading Oriyas of Cuttack and Berhampur regarding selection of site for location of the New Capital of Orissa, it is the Mahārājā who settled the question at a meeting held in the Summer, 1940, in the Government House at Puri, and the site of the Capital was selected at Bhubaneswar.

The Mahārājā's enterprises in the field of politics is as bright and glorious as that of cultural and social affairs. For advancement of the Oriya literature, he extended financial help ungrudgingly to deserving authors. To fulfil this object, he maintained a press, called the *Gajapati-press*, where many books were published, free of cost. A list of such publications is given below :—

1. Oriya Drama :—(a) *Dhruva-nāṭaka* (b) *Candrāvatisvayaṁvara*, (c) *Prahallāda*, (d) *Bāṇadarpadalana*. (e) *Uṣā-pariṇaya*, by his father and uncle, (f) *Pṛthvirāja*, by Simhadri Patnaik, (g) *Navānurāga* by Simhadri Paricha.

2. Poetry and Padyāvali :—(a) *Bṛndāvana-Bihāra*- by Jagannātha Nārāyaṇadeva, (b) *Gopālakṛṣṇa-granthā, vali* by Gopālakrushna Patanayaka, (c) *Gaurhari-Padyāvali* by Gaurhari Parikṣā, (d) *Haribandhu Padyāvali* by Haribandhu Khadgarāi.

3. Essays and biographies :—(a) *Prabandhāvali* by Syamasundara Rajaguru, (b) *Padmanābha-Jīvanì*, (c) *Ḍhaga-ḍhamāli*, (d) *Kavi-jīvani* by Appana Panda.

Apart from this, he granted financial help to several writers for publication of their books *Viz.* (1) Paṇḍit Gopinatha Nanda for the *Oḍiyā Śavdabodha-Abhidhāna* and *Bhāṣātatva*. (2) Gopalachandra Praharaja for the 5th volume of *Bhāṣā-Koṣa*, (3) Jagabandhu Simha for the *Prācina-Utkala*, (4) Chitamani Mahanti for the *Pāralā-darśana* and *Mahendra-giri*.

His activities in the field of industry and agriculture were well recognised by the Government of India who, not only selected him as the only Indian Member to the *Royal Agriculture Commission*, but also taken him as a member of *The Indo-British-Trade-Negotiation* in 1938. He was a honorary Director of the Mettur Industries, Madras. and also acted as a member in the Board of Directors of the Manjuri Stud Form, Poona. and that of Messers Simpson and Co., Madras. He established a Rice-*cum*-Oil-Mill to which was added subsequently a Steel Factory for production of petty iron implements and hardware utensils. His ownership of an extensive Salt-field at Pundi (Andhrapradesh) kept his commercial activities perpetual.

He was maintaining an excellent library in his palace in addition to other libraries in the Mahārājā's College and Sanskrit College. *The Palace Library* was utilised for the purpose of research. It contained many rare publications including palm-leaf-manuscripts. He is a life-member of the *Royal Society of Art* and *Royal Asiatic Society*, London. He is also a life-member of the Utkal University. In its 14th Annual Convocation, held on the 14th January, 1958, the Utkal University conferred on him the degree of *L L.* D. or the *Doctor of Laws (honoris Causa)*; and the same title was again conferred on him by the

Berhampur University. Although he got this title from two Universities, he never attempted to take the pride of using the degree even in his letter-pads. His proudlessness reminds one the Sanskrit saying *Namanti phalinō vṛkṣāḥ*.

He maintained a dramatic-club, called the 'Padmanābha-Rangālaya', which offered facilities to many drama-writers and artists to improve their respective skill and merit. This institution was one of the earliest *Raṅgālayas* in Orissa and it was established in the commemoration of his uncle, Padmanābha deva (Chandra-Mahārājā), who was a poet and play-writer and also a great patroniser of poor students. So, the Mahārājā opened a fund for poor-students in his uncle's name as *Padmanābha Charity Fund.* His gifts to students are noteworthy. Apart from granting free-boarding and free-scholarship to deserving students, he sanctioned the half-free concession for all Oriya students, admitted in the High School and College of Pārlākhimuṇḍi. Free education for girl students and also students of Sanskrit College was introduced by him. Many poor Sanskrit students received rice and money for their sustention from the Mahārājā. He had a special bent of mind in the learning of Sanskrit and *Dharma Śāstras* and *Purāṇa.* He engaged a Brahmana (*Purāṇa Paṇḍā*) who used to recite the *Mahābhārata* and *Ramāyaṇa* before him during the summer months when he used to stay at the Vasanta-nivāsa. He was also fond of feeding the poor and Brahmaṇas.

He was a lover of sports and maintained excellent Cricket, Foot ball, Tennis teams in the palace-ground and Tennis courts near the College and Guest house. He was a good cricket player and his team earned reputation in Madras by playing matches and won a trophy. The Mahārājā had special hobby in the Horse Race for which he maintained horses of reputed pedigrees.

The extension of the Pārlākhimuṇḍi Light-Railway from Pārlākhimuṇḍi Town to Gunpur about 35 miles. is a glaring example of his fore-sight in all-round development of the neglected tracts of Orissa. Unfortunately, the zeal and ènthusiasm with which the work he had undertaken, was not receiving proper attention by the Government even after it was takenover by the Railway Department of the Government of India.

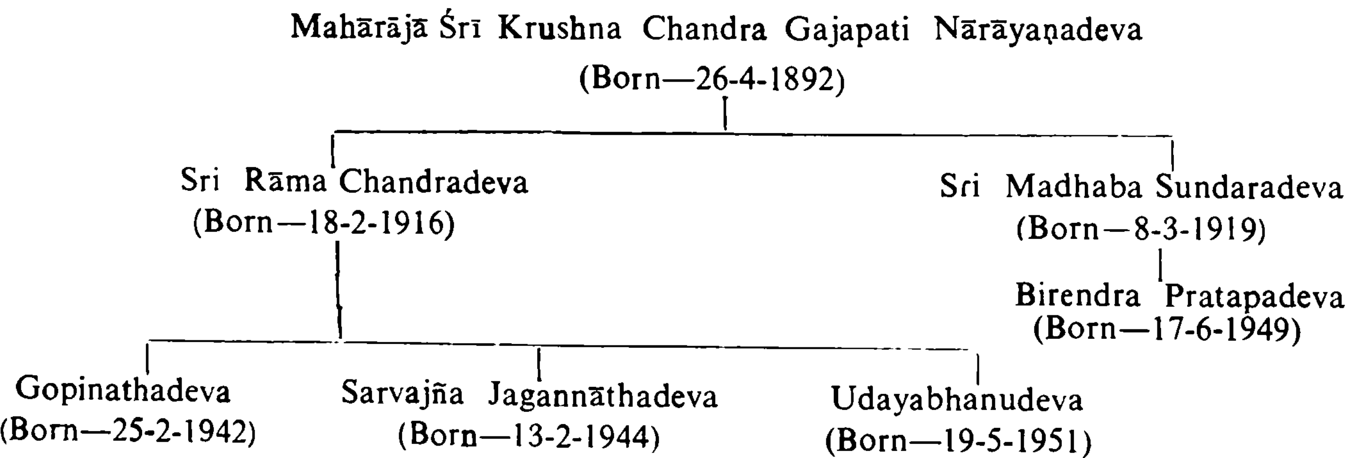
The Mahārājā's numerous donations to skilled artists, musicians, painters and many other institutions including Municipalities and Local Board need no separate mention as it will cover several pages.

Sri Abhimanyu Misra, one of the Justices of the Orissa High Court, has rightly eulogised him on the eve of his 78th birth day as stated below :—

"Many representing the Indian aristocracy have passed away and many will pass into oblivion, but a few like the Mahārājā Saheb, I am sure, will pass into history which will record in golden letters for all time his greatness, magnanimity and his noble deed, all directed towards the welfare of the people."

The domestic career of the Mahārājā was mostly shrouded in sorrow owing to the untimely demise of his *Rāṇi* and also the eldest daughter and eldest son. Although he lost his Estate after the *Zamindary Abolition Act* was passed by the Governments of Orissa and Andhrapradesh and towards his Compensation he got too meager an amount which was hardly sufficient to adjust for the cost of his living, he never stamped gloom or glow on his countenance. Up to the present day, even at the age of eighty, he has not given up the punctual habits, *i. e.*, getting up from the bed at 4 A. M. and doing the routine work. His career, so to say, is typically glorious !

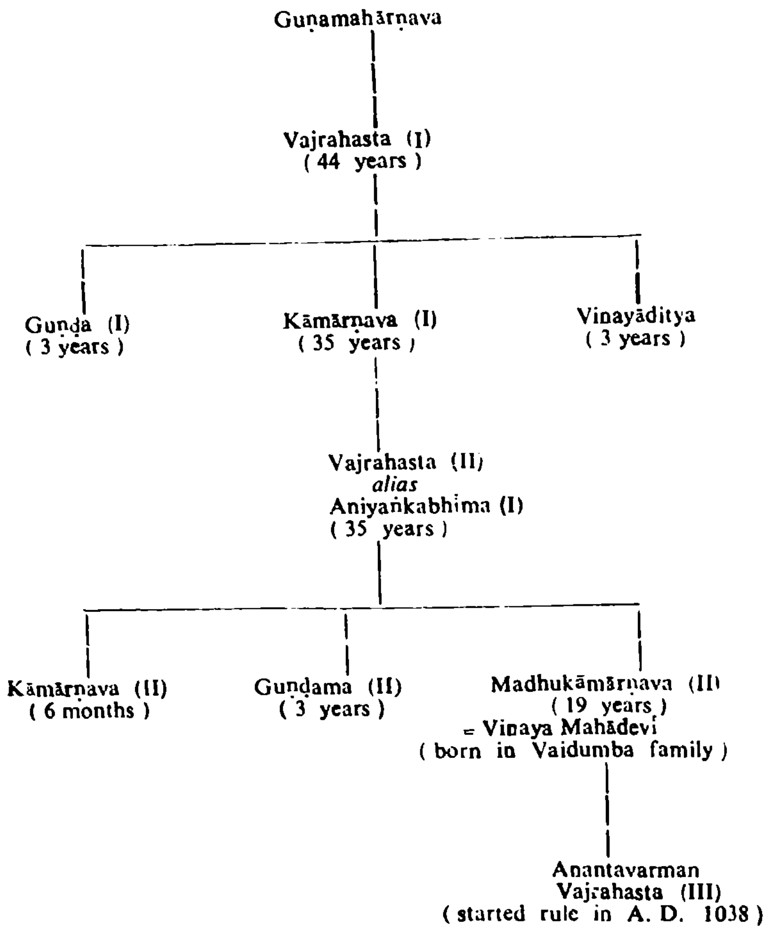
Following is the genealogical table of his sons and grandsons :—



APPENDIX

APPENDIX—A*

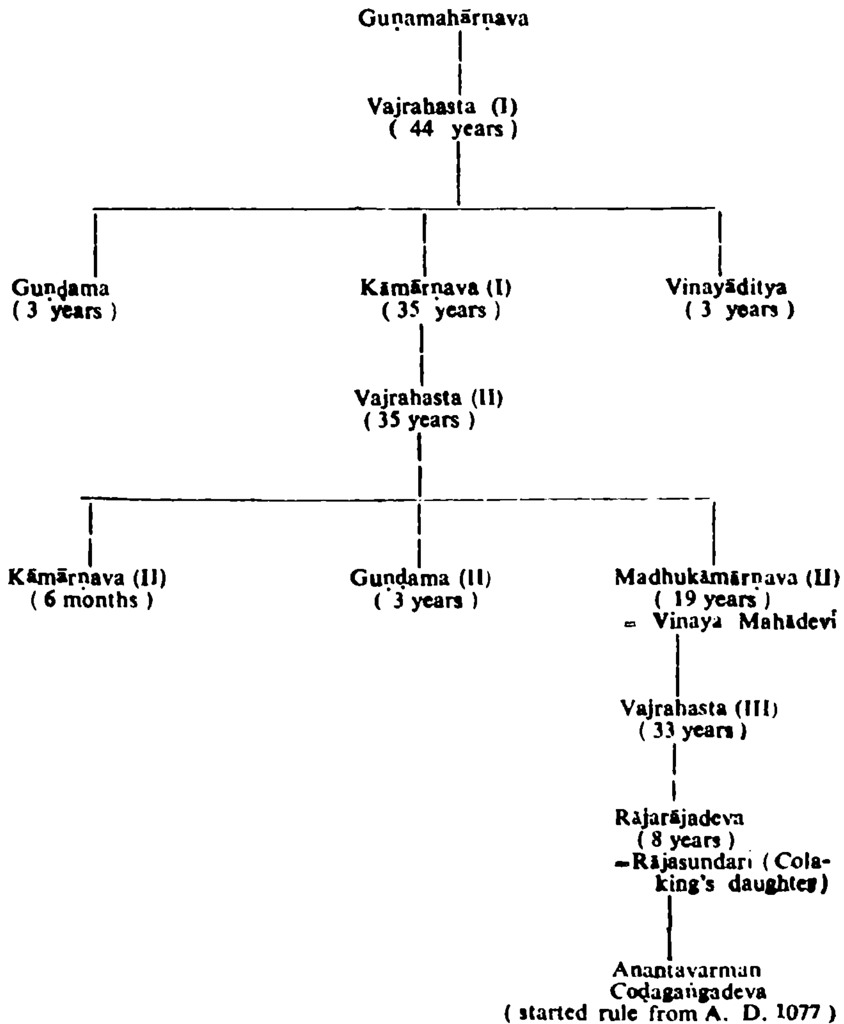
[The Genealogical Table of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga]



* See *Ins. Or.*, Vol. III, Pt. ii, Appendix 1—A, Page—V

APPENDIX—B*

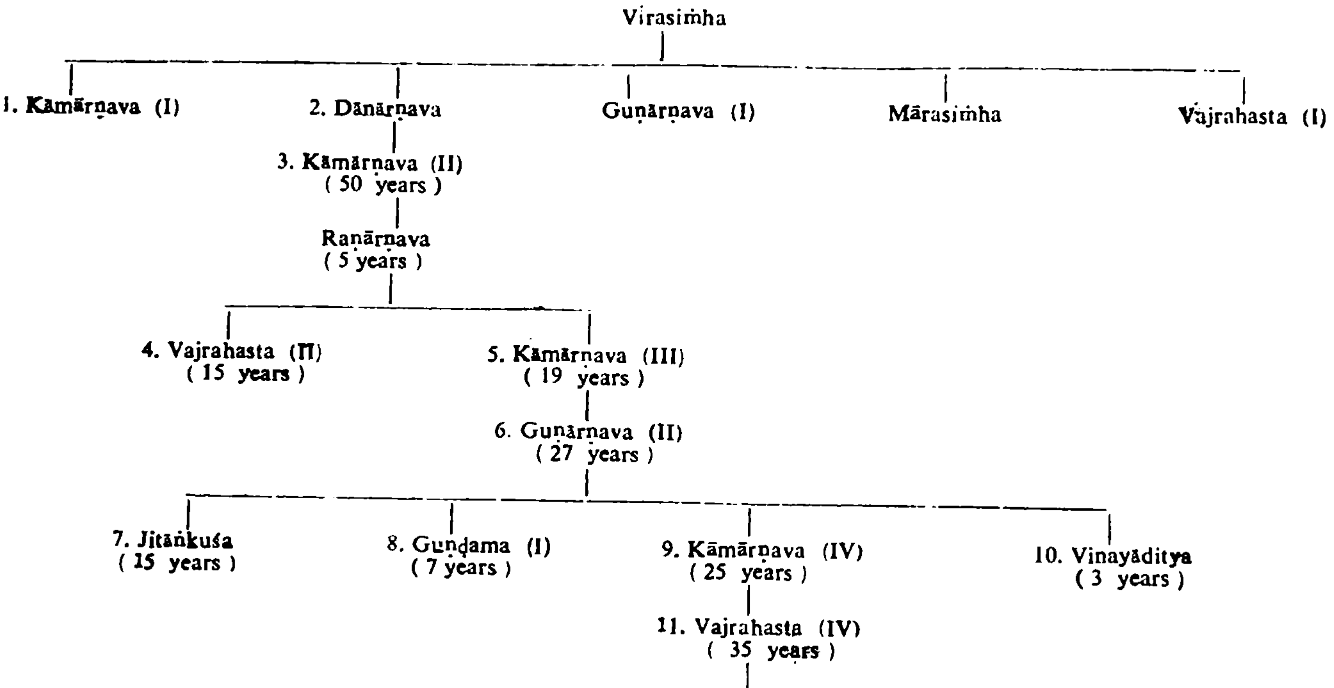
[The Genealogical Table of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga]

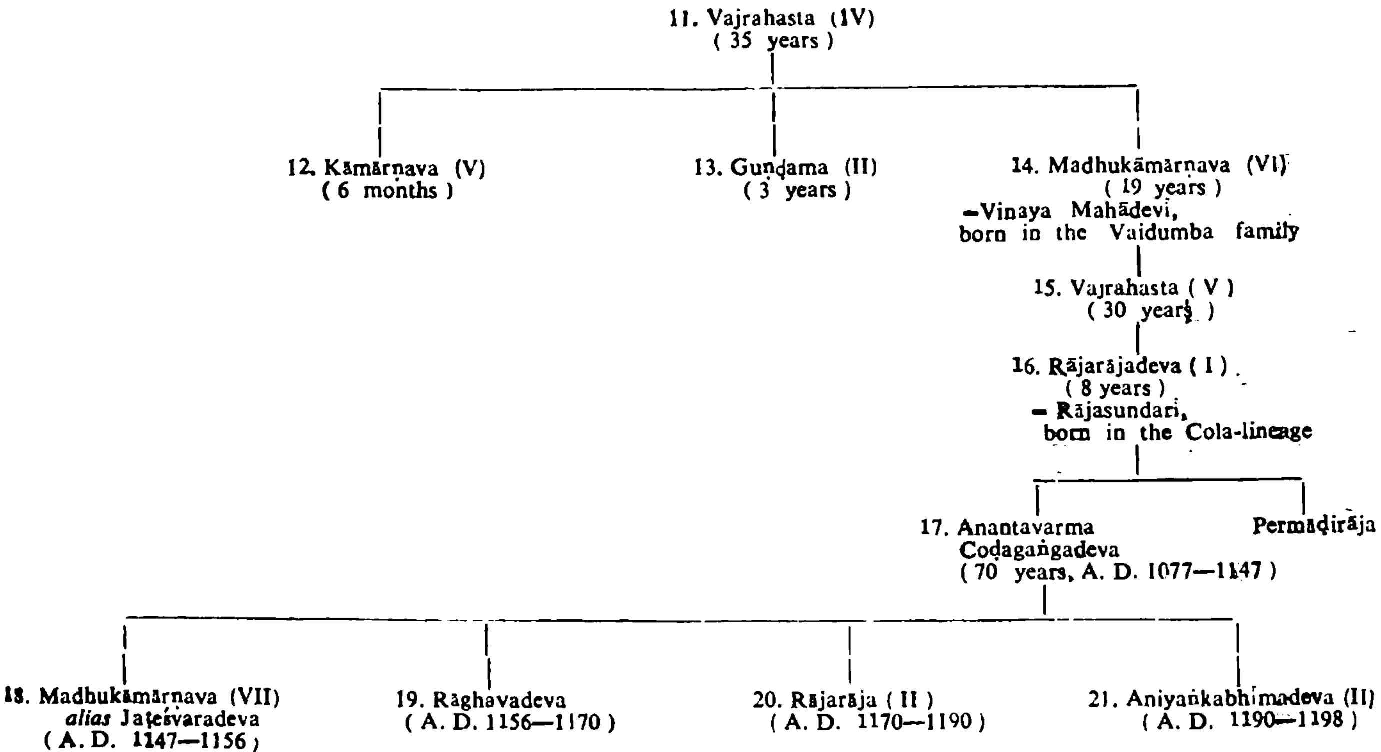


* See *Ins. Or.*, Vol. III, Pt. ii, Appendix I—B, Page—VIII

APPENDIX—C*

[The Revised Genealogical Table of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga]





* See *Ins. Or.*, Vol. III, Pt. ii, Appendix I—C, Page XVIII

APPENDIX—D*

[The Genealogical Table of the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa]

21. Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva (II)
(A. D. 1190—1198)

|

22. Rājarāja (III)
(A. D. 1198—1211)

|

23. Aniyaṅkabhīma (III)
(A. D. 1211—1238)

|

24. Narasiṁha (I)
(A. D. 1238—1264)

|

25. Bhānu (I)
(A. D. 1264—1278)

|

26. Narasiṁha (II)
(A. D. 1278—1308)

|

27. Bhānu (II)
(A. D. 1308—1327)

|

28. Narasiṁha (III)
(A. D. 1327—1352)

|

29. Bhānu (III)
(A. D. 1352—1377)

|

30. Narasiṁha (IV)
(A. D. 1377—1413)

|

31. Bhānu (IV)
alias Niśaṅka Bhānu
(A. D. 1413—1436)

---

* See *Ins. Or.*, Vol. III, Pt. ii, Appendix II and for the Sanskrit *Praśasti* of the kings, please refer to Appendix—E above.

APPENDIX—E

गङ्गावंशीय राजप्रशस्ति

लक्ष्मीपादसरोरुहद्वयमदः श्रेयास्पदासीष्टवः[1]
प्रस्फूर्ज्ज्नखरश्मिकेशरशतैर्भास्वन्नखालीदलम्[2] ।
विस्पष्टं प्रतिविम्बितः प्रणमयोः क्रीड़ापराधोद्भवैः
कृष्णोयन्नखदीप्तिषु भ्रमरतां धत्ते स लक्ष्मीप्रियः ॥१॥

क्षीराब्धेर्मथितात्सुरासुरगणैः प्रादुर्भवन्ती रमा
शम्भू-ब्रह्म-पुरन्दरप्रभृतिषु प्रख्यातकीर्त्तिष्वपि ।
पश्यत्यम्बुज[3]नाभमीशमवृणोल्लोकत्रयाह्लादिनम्
भृङ्गाली सहकारमेति हि वने फुल्लेन्य[4]शाखिन्यपि ॥२॥

तन्नाभीसरसीरुहोद्भवविधेरत्रीर्बभूवास्तत[5]-
श्चन्द्रश्चन्द्रिकया प्रकाशितजगत्संभूतवान्नेत्रयोः ।
त्रैलोक्यग्रसनैकदक्षतिमिर-ग्रासित्वसाम्येपि यो
लक्ष्मव्याजिदधत्तमः प्रतिवपुः सूर्य्याधिकोनिर्मलः ॥३॥

श्रीदेवीसोदरत्वादमृतसखतया कल्पवृक्षानुजत्वा-
ल्लोकानन्दं विधाता तिमिरविपहरः सर्वदेवोपभोग्यः ।
तत्तत्संसर्गलाभात्तदधिगतमलं स्वाङ्कनिष्टं दधानः
स्वस्यैत[6] निर्मलत्वं जगतिविजयतं दर्शयन्नूनमिन्दुः ॥४॥

---

[1] श्रेयांसिदासीष्टवरिति पाठान्तरः

[2] केशरसटाभास्वन्नखालीदलम् अथवा केशरसटं भास्वन्नखालीदलमिति पाठान्तरः

[3] पश्यत्स्वम्बुजेति पाठान्तरः

[4] फुल्लान्येति पाठान्तरः

[5] मुतरिति पाठान्तरः

[6] 'तदधिगतगुणं स्वाङ्गनिष्टं दधानः स्वस्वैत...........'

अथवा

तत्तत्संसर्गलाभात्तदधिगतगुणं स्वाङ्गनिष्टं दधानमिति पाठान्तरः

वंशे तस्य नरेश्वराः समभवन् येषां गुणाश्चन्दसः
प्रोत्फुल्ला इव तत्पुराणपथगास्तत्रापि नोसम्मताः[1] ।
तत्तत्काव्यपथा[2]श्रितास्त्रिभुवने मूर्त्तिं दधाना इव
भ्राम्यन्तीव सुचेतनाः[3] श्रुतिगृहे विश्रम्य विश्रम्य च ॥५॥

प्रत्येकं शशिवंशभूपतिभुजव्यापारसंकीर्त्तनम्
कर्त्तुं कः क्षमते क्षितौ वहुमुखो यत्रार्जुनस्येव हि ।
दोर्दण्डार्जितकीर्त्तिवर्णनपरं[4] तद्भारतं प्राभव-
त्तस्मादाह्वय मात्रमाद्यनृपति[5]श्रेणिःक्रमाल्लिख्यते ॥६॥

[तथा हि चन्द्राद्बुधः, बुधादनलः[6], अनलात्पुरुरवाः[7], पुरुरवसो आयुः, आयोर्नहुषः, नहुषाद्ययातिः, ययातेस्तुर्वसुः, ततोऽङ्गशुदत्तः[8], ततः सौराङ्गदः, ततः शिरध्वजः, ततो मेधावी[9], ततः परीक्षितः, ततो जयसेनः, ततो विजयसेनः, ततो वृषध्वजः, ततः शक्तिः, ततः प्रगल्भः, ततः कोलाहलः, स एवानन्तवर्मा अभवत् ।]

---

[1] 'येषां गुणा वन्दितताः'

अथवा

'समभवन्तेषां गुणाश्छन्दशः प्रोत्फुल्ला इव यत् पुराणपथगास्तत्रापिनो सम्मिता'-रिति पाठान्तरः ।

[2] पथमिति पाठान्तरः

[3] भ्राम्यन्तीव सुवेदनाः

अथवा

भ्राम्यन्तीव सुचेतनारिति पाठान्तरः

[4] वर्णनकथा

अथवा

वर्णनपरमिति पाठान्तरः

[5] मात्रमादिनृपतीति पाठान्तरः

[6] तथाहि चन्द्रः चन्द्रान्नलरिति पाठान्तरः

[7] पुरुरवसोवायु इति पाठान्तरः

[8] Different readings are given in different C. Pls. from here

[9] ततो धर्म्मैषीति पाठान्तरः

धनकनकसमृद्धो गङ्गवाडिः प्रसिद्धः
सकलविषयभूतः स्वर्गवर्गोपभोग्यः ।
तदधिपतिरथाद्यानन्तवर्मानृपेन्द्रः
समभवदिति रूढी[1] गङ्गनाम्ना तदाद्याः ॥७॥

कोलाहलः समरमूर्द्धनि ततो नृपाणां
भूयो यतः[2] सुरपुरं च तदीयमत्र ।
कोलाहलाह्वयमभूत्सुरसद्मतुल्यं
तस्मिन् क्रमे नृपतिभिर्बहुभिर्बभूवे ॥८॥

राज्यश्रीभृति नागसिंह नृपतौ ज्येष्टे किमत्रास्महे
दोर्दण्डार्जितभूतलोत्थितरमाकण्ठाग्रहानन्दिनः ।
किञ्चास्माकमियं भुजासिलतिकासंवेष्टतां[3] वैरिणाम्
कण्ठारण्यमियं च कीर्त्तिलतिका द्यामः[4] समारोहतु ॥९॥

भ्राम्यद्भिर्विजिगीषया क्षितितले क्वापि द्विपद्वन्दितैः
क्वापि द्वेषिकुलप्रमाथिभिरपि प्राप्ताः कलिङ्गाः किल ।
तैः कामार्णवपञ्चभिर्नृपवरैः[5] युद्धं कलिङ्गैः समम्
प्राप्ताः[6] द्रष्टुमिवार्णवादुदगमत् कूर्मावतारो हरिः ॥१०॥

कूर्मस्वामिनि साक्षिणि त्रिनयने तस्मिन्महेन्द्रं गते
गोकर्णोऽपि महोदधौ वियति च सूर्ये तथेन्दावपि ।
कालिङ्गी[7] भुवमाहरद्भुजबलादन्योपभुक्तं चिरं
लक्ष्मीं चेत्यथ[8] का स्तुतिर्वदततो गङ्गान्वयस्याहवे ॥११॥

तत्रासीद्वंशकर्त्तासौ कामार्णवमहीपतिः ।
यस्येति पुत्रपौत्राद्याराजनः ख्यातविक्रमाः ॥१२॥

---

1 रूढा इति पाठान्तरः
2 भूयो गतरिति पाठान्तरः
3 मंचेष्ट्यतामिति पाठान्तरः
4 द्याव्ररिति पाठान्तरः
5 पञ्चमेर्नृपवरैरिति पाठान्तरः
6 'तैः कामार्णवपञ्चमैर्नृपवरैष्पुङ्ःङ्कलिङ्कैः समं प्राप्तन्द्रष्टु' इति पाठान्तरः
7 कालिङ्गाम्भुवेति पाठान्तरः
8 वेत्यथेति पाठान्तरः

शास्त्रार्थनिश्चित[1] मतिर्द्विपदन्तकारी
सर्वार्थिवर्गपरितोषणहेतुवर्गः ।
आचारतोऽपि मुनिपुङ्गवमार्गचारी
तस्मादभून्नृपवरो भुवि वज्रहस्तः ॥१३॥

न नामतः केवलमर्थतोऽपि
स वज्रहस्तस्त्रिकलिङ्गनाथः ।
को वज्रहस्तादपरे पृथीव्यां
वज्रं पतद्धारयितुं समर्थः ॥१४॥

व्याप्तं गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य यशसा दिक्चक्रवाले शशि
प्रायेणामलिनेन[2] यस्य भुवन प्रह्लाद सम्पादिना ।
सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्कपटलैः कुम्भस्थलीपट्टकं-
ष्वालिम्पन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणावारणान् ॥१५॥

महिषीनङ्गमा[3] तस्य पार्वतीव पिनाकिनः ।
तस्मात्तस्यामभूद्वीरो राजराजो महीपतिः ॥१६॥

स राजराजो द्विजराजकान्ति-
र्भुजङ्गराजाननवर्ण[4] कीर्त्तिः ।
श्रीमत्तयाधः कृत राजराजः
स्वविक्रमान्यत्कृत देवराजः[5] ॥१७॥

तस्याग्रमहिषीरम्या[6] नाम्नाभूद्राजसुन्दरी ।
लक्ष्मीर्नारायणस्येव चन्द्रस्येव[7] च रोहिणी ॥१८॥

ततस्तस्यामभूद्वीर[8]श्चोडगङ्गो नरेश्वरः ।
शौणीभृत्पक्षविच्छित्यै दिवीन्द्रात्कुलिशं यथा ॥१९॥

---

1 निश्चितमतीति पाठान्तरः
2 प्रद्योतामलिनेनेति पाठान्तरः
3 नगमा इति पाठान्तरः
4 भुजङ्गराजाननवत् प्रकीर्त्तिरिति पाठान्तरः
स्वविक्रमान्यक्कृतदेवराजैरिति पाठान्तरः
6 तस्याग्रमहिषी राज्ञी इति पाठान्तरः
7 चन्द्रस्येव तु रोहिणीति पाठान्तरः
मभद्येवरिति पाठान्तरः

धात्री तस्य सरस्वती समभवन्नूनं न चेत्पीतवान्
तत्सारस्वतमार्य्यबालकतया[1] श्रीचोडगङ्गः पयः ।
तादृग्वेदमतिः कथं निपुणतां शास्त्रेषु तादृक् कथं
तादृक्काव्यमतिः[2] कथं परिणति शिल्पेषु[3] तादृक्कथम् ॥२०॥

क्षौणीं दिक्पालयेषामयमकृतपदद्वन्दमेतस्य वैरी-
क्ष्माभृच्चूडाश्रियाप्तं स्तुतिरिति कियती चोडगङ्गेश्वरस्य ।
नूनं पूर्णः सुधांशुः परनृपधवलछत्रबुध्यापहर्त्ता-
मामित्यङ्कस्य वृद्धिं त्यजति यत[4] इव त्रस्तचित्तः प्रवीरान् ॥२१॥

गृह्णातिस्म करं भूमेर्गङ्गा-गौतम-गङ्गयोः ।
मध्ये पश्यत्सुवीरेषु प्रौढ प्रौढस्त्रियामिव[5] ॥२२॥

प्रतिभटकरशस्त्रव्याहति स्वाङ्गनिर्य्य-
द्रुधिरमिव निविष्टमाभवे यत्र दैव[6] ।
निजकरधृतशस्त्रच्छिन्नभिन्नांगमेता-
नकृत धरणिशय्यन् द्वन्दयुद्धेषु गङ्गः ॥२३॥

यत्तेजः परिभूतशत्रुनगरप्रोद्भूतधूमोद्गमैः
भूयः[7] खाण्डवदाहशंकिमनसो देवाः परं[8] भीरवः ।
स्वर्नीतादसिधारया रिपुगणादाकर्ण्य[9] वार्त्तामिव
प्रौढिं तस्य ब्रुवन्ति गङ्गनृपतेर्भीतिं विहाय ध्रुवम् ॥२४॥

क्रोधोद्यद्द्विपमेघमालिनि मदस्रोतस्वतीदुर्गमे
चञ्चत्खड्ग तडित्प्रभावतिनद[10]न्नाराचवर्षोदये ।

---

1 बालकतमेति पाठान्तरः
2 काव्यकृतिरिति पाठान्तरः
3 शीलेषु इति पाठान्तरः
4 जतेति पाठान्तरः
5 किवा इवेति पाठन्तरः
6 मिव निविष्टं नोभवेयत्तदैवेति पाठान्तरः
7 'प्रोद्भूतधूमोद्गमैर्भूय'रिति पाठान्तरः
8 क्षणमिति पाठान्तरः
9 रिपुगणदाकल्पयवार्त्तामिवेति पाठान्तरः
10 प्रभावनिनदेति पाठान्तरः

सत्सैन्ये[1] जलदागमप्रतिनिधौ जेतुं प्रवर्त्तेतकः
शूरोपीति वदन् त्रिलोचन[2]विभुर्वद्धोमुना संगरे ।।२५।।
निर्मथ्योत्कलसिन्धुराजमपरं गङ्गेश्वरः प्राप्तवा-
नेकः कीर्त्तिसुधाकरं पृथुतमं लक्ष्मीं धरण्यासमम् ।
मात्यद्दन्ति-सहस्रमश्व-नियुतं रत्नान्यसंख्यानिव
तत्सिन्धोः किमिमं[3] प्रकर्षमथवा ब्रूमस्तदुन्माथिनः ।।२६।।
पादौ तस्य[4] धरान्तरीक्षमखिलं नाभिश्च[5] सर्वादिशः
श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दुयुगलं मूर्द्धापि च द्यौरसौ ।
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्त्तुं क्षमः
तस्येत्यादि[6] नृपैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेऽथ गङ्गेश्वरः ।।२७।।
लक्ष्मीजन्मगृहं पयोनिधिरसौ सम्भावितस्य स्थिति-
र्नानासि[7] श्वशुरस्य पूज्यत इति क्षीराब्धिवास ध्रुवम्[8] ।
निर्विण्णः पुरुषोत्तमः प्रमुदितस्तद्धाम[9]लाभाद्रमा-
प्येतद् भर्त्तृगृहं वरं पितृगृहात् प्राप्य प्रमोदान्विता ।।२८।।
त्वं कूर्माधिप माचलत्त्वमपि[10] भो व्यालेन्द्र धैर्यं वह
त्वं पृथ्वी स्थिरतां व्रज त्वमधुना ब्रह्माण्ड गाढं भव ।
श्रीगङ्गाधिपवद्धसिंह विसरद् घोषात् जगद्व्यापिनो
दिङ्नागेषु भयाच्चलत्सुजगती कम्पेत वायत् क्रमात् ।।२९।।
आरम्यानगरात् कलिङ्गजवल प्रत्युग्रभग्नाकृति
प्राकारायत तोरणा प्रभृतितो[11] गङ्गातटस्थात्ततः ।

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1 यत् सैन्ये इति पाठान्तरः
2 वदंस्त्रिलोचनेति पाठन्तरः
3 किमियमिति पाठान्तरः
4 यस्येति पाठान्तरः
5 नाभिस्तु इति पाठान्तरः
6 तस्येत्यद्येति पाठान्तरः
7 स्थितिर्नोधाम्नीति पाठान्तरः
8 वासाद्ध्रुवमिति पाठान्तरः
9 स्तद्वासेति पाठान्तरः
10 नश्चलत्वमपीति पाठान्तरः
11 प्रभृतिनो इति पाठान्तरः

पार्थास्त्रैर्युधि[1] जर्जरीकृत लसद्राधेय[2]गात्राकृति-
र्मन्दाराधिपतिर्गतो रणभुवो गङ्गेश्वरानुद्रुतः ॥३०॥

ब्रह्माण्डाद्बहिरस्य कीर्त्तियशसा व्याप्तं नवाभारतो[3]
दत्तश्चार्थिजनाय हेमनिचयः संकल्पनैर्वा वहुः[4] ।
निर्दग्धारि च[5] यश्च भावितबलैः स्वस्य[6] प्रतापैर्न वा
किंवा नोकृतवानयं स्तुतिपदं **श्रीचोड़गङ्गेश्वरः**[7] ॥३१॥

वर्षाणि[8] सप्तर्ती वीरः क्षौणीसंभोगमाचरन् ।
दिङ्नायकान् प्रतीहारान् विधायाशासु सर्वतः ॥३२॥

किं प्राप्ता महिषी तपोभिरतुलैः **श्रीचोडगङ्गेन** सा
देवैः स्तुत्य गुणैर्विभूषिततनुः **कस्तूरिकामोदिनी** ।
नाविष्णुः[9] पृथिवीपतिः प्रभवतीत्यस्मिन् हरैर्वा भुवो[10]
रक्षार्थं धृतजन्मनि[11] स्वयमसौ लक्ष्मीः प्रसूताथवा ॥३३॥

तस्मिन् ततो जनि जयन्त इवैकवीरः[12]
कामार्णवस्त्रिजगदेकवदान्य एषः ।
सूर्य्यं प्रतापविभवेन जगत्प्रसिद्ध-
कीर्त्तिः शशाङ्कमधरीकृतवान् विशुद्धया ॥३४॥

गङ्गेशसूनुर्विवुधाश्रयस्य[13]-
दृप्यद्विषद्वंशविभेदशक्तेः[14] ।

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[1] योधास्त्रै इति पाठान्तरः
[2] नमद्राधेयेति पाठान्तरः
[3] कीर्त्तिपयसालिप्तं नभाभाविनो इति पाठान्तरः
[4] संकल्पने वा वहु इति पाठान्तरः
निर्द्दग्धारिपुरश्चेति पाठान्तरः
[6] भावित नवस्तस्येति पाठान्तरः
चक्रेथ गण्डेश्वरविति पाठान्तरः
वर्षाणामिति पाठान्तरः
[9] नावष्टरिति पाठान्तरः
[10] भुवो इति पाठान्तरः
[11] कृतेति पाठान्तरः
[12] तस्यान्ततो जानि जगत्रितयैकवीररिति पाठान्तरः
[13] विवुटाश्रमस्येति पाठान्तरः
[14] शक्तिरिति पाठान्तरः

कामार्ण्णवस्यास्य कुमारकत्वम्
न नामतः केवलमर्थतोऽपि ।।३५।।

प्राप्योदयं शशाङ्कस्य वर्द्धतां कामवारिधिः[1] ।
वर्द्धते कीर्त्तिचन्द्रोऽयं चित्रं कामार्ण्णवोदये ।।३६।।

वेदर्त्तु[2]-व्योम-चन्द्रप्रमितशकशमाः प्राप्तकाले दिनेशे
चापस्थेऽन्यग्रहौघे बलवतिरिपुषु प्रजयं प्राप्तवत्सु ।
अस्मिन्मूर्द्धाभिषिक्ते नृपवरतनये सर्वलोकैकनाथे
श्रीमत्कामार्ण्णवेशे जगदभवदिदं तत्तदानन्दपूर्णम् ।।३७।।

क्षीरार्ण्णवादजनि चन्द्रकलेति वार्त्ता
कामार्ण्णवात्तु सकलेन्दु-दिवाकराभम् ।
कीर्त्तिप्रतापमिथुनं सहकारिलोके
स्थित्या[3] ह्यत्परनृपाननु[4]रागशून्यान् ।।३८।।

यस्यासिनिर्द्दलितवैरिकरीन्द्रकुम्भ-
निर्मुक्तमौक्तिकफलान्यनुगुम्फितानि[5] ।
कामार्ण्णवस्य रिपुसंहृतिहेतुकाले[6]
सन्ध्याभ्रवभ्रभगणा[7] इव भान्ति युद्धे ।।३९।।

दृप्यद्वैरिचमूर्मया कवलिता नैवं मयास्वादिते-
त्यन्योन्यं कलहेतु[8] निर्णयविधौ खड्गप्रभावेच्छया[9]
माध्यस्तं गमितेव निर्मलतमाकीर्त्तिस्त्वदीया त्रवी-[10]
म्यालोच्येह महद्भिरित्युपगताधातुः श्रुतीरादरात्[11] ।।४०।।

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[1] नामवारिधिरिति पाठान्तरः

[2] नन्दर्त्तु इति पाठान्तरः

[3] क्षिप्येति पाठान्तरः

[4] श्लिष्यत्यहो परनृपा इति पाठान्तरः

[5] न्यमृगुक्षितानीति पाठान्तरः

[6] रिपुसङ्गतिहेत्वकाले इति पाठान्तरः

[7] सन्ध्याप्रभातभगणा इति पाठान्तरः

[8] त्यन्योन्यं कलहे इति पाठान्तरः

[9] प्रतपेच्छया इति पाठान्तरः

[10] निर्मलतरा कीर्त्तिर्यदीयात्रवीति पाठान्तरः

[11] श्रुतचादरातिति पाठान्तरः

अस्राक्षीत्सहिरण्यगर्भमपरे लोकं[1] महेशः पुरे-
त्युत्कृष्टं[2] प्रवदन्ति येतु[3] वदनव्रातो विरुद्धोऽधुना[4] ।
तेषां यत्तु हिरण्यगर्भमकरोत् **कामार्णवेशः** स्वतः
सम्पन्नं जनितं जगद्यत इह प्रत्यक्षतः प्राणिनाम् ॥४१॥

सप्ताम्भोधीन्वहन्ती क्षितिरतितरला-नागकूर्मेश्वराणां
साहाय्यं वाञ्छतीयं तदपि पुनरसौ[5] कल्पितस्तत्र भारः ।
त्याता[6] **कामार्णवाख्यस्तव**[7] निजतुलनां निर्दयः स्वर्णभारैः
भूयो भूयस्तुलायां स्थित इति धरणेर्भारबाहुल्यमाप्नम् ॥४२॥

हृष्टपुष्टजनाकीर्णं[8] विद्वज्जनमनोहरम् ।
दशाब्दीमकरोद्राज्यं[9] **कामार्णवमहीपतिः** ॥४३॥

श्रीचोडगङ्गनृपतेर्महिषी ततोन्या-
तस्येन्दिरा रविकुलोद्भव राजपुत्री ।
याद्यापि[10] धातुरुपमाजनि सुन्दरीणाम्
सेयं सुधांशुवदनास्तपसैव जाता[11] ॥४४॥

यद्रूपशीलगतिवर्णनया प्रसिद्धा
दृष्टान्तभूर्गिरिसुतेत्यभिधानदोषः[12] ।
नास्त्येव चण्डरुचिकारह कोपनेत्र-
तामिन्दिरा[13]मुदवहद्भुवि **चोडगङ्गः** ॥४५॥

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1 मररं लोकमिति पाठान्तरः

2 त्युत्पन्नमिति पाठान्तरः

3 येकेति पाठान्तरः

4 निरुद्धोधुता इति पाठान्तरः

5 पुनरयमिति पाठान्तरः

6 धात्रा इति पाठान्तरः

'म तु' अथवा 'म च' इति पाठान्तरः

ध्वस्तं दुष्ट' जनाकिर्णमिति पाठान्तरः

दशाब्दानकरोद्राज्यमिति पाठान्तरः

10 अद्यपीति पाठान्तरः

11 सुधांशुवदना स्वयमेव जाता इति पाठान्तरः

12 त्यभिधानदोषारिति पाठान्तरः

13 नास्त्येव चण्डरुचिकामहरो यदत्र तामिन्दिरा इति पाठान्तरः

तस्यास्ततः[1] समजनि क्षितिनाथ-नाथः
श्रीराघवः परनरेश्वरदर्पमर्द्दी ।
यत्पट्टबन्धनविधिश्रवणातिभीताः[2]
सर्वे नृपाः सहृदिकम्पमवाप्नुवन्तः ॥४६॥

श्रीराघवे राजनि चित्रमेत-
त्तेजोविहीनः क्षितिपालवर्गः ।
यत्पाद[3]सेवाकृतदेहसिद्धि-
र्मित्रीभवन्त्येव[4] समस्त एषः ॥४७॥

प्रौढारिप्रहत[5] प्रकारविहित प्राचण्ड्यपात्री[6]भवत्
दोर्दण्डोपमिति प्रगल्भविषयः प्रच्छन्न[7]वानर्जुनः ।
संप्रत्याहवरङ्गसङ्गरिपुश्रेणीशिरः कन्दुक-
क्रीडासक्तभुजः शरासनभृतामेकोपमा[8] राघवः ॥४८॥

जगति परशुरामः प्रादुरासीद् द्वितीयः
किमु रिपुकुलहन्ता स्वज्ञयाच्छन्नलोकः ।
क्षितिवितरणदीक्षासक्तहस्तः प्रतापा-
दपि दशशतवाहुर्यस्य शत्रुर्विनाशी ॥४९॥

भेदं भेदमरातिकुञ्जरघटा क्षौणीन्द्रपंक्ती रणे
पायं पायमसृक्पयांसि वहुधा श्रीराघवाग्निः[9] क्षणात् ।
शुभ्रं शुभ्रमिवोद्वहन् विजयते[10] कीर्त्तिप्रतानं परम्
चन्द्रश्चन्द्रिकया[11] प्रपूर्णतरया संसेव्यमाकांक्षते[12] ॥५०॥

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[1] तस्मात्ततरिति पाठान्तरः
[2] श्रवणात्प्रभीता इति पाठान्तरः
[3] तत्पादेति पाठान्तरः
[4] भवत्येवेति पाठान्तरः
[5] प्रहतीति पाठान्तरः
[6] मत्त्रीति पाठान्तरः
[7] प्रेाग्भूतेति पाठान्तरः
[8] चित्रोपमा इति पाठान्तरः
[9] श्रीराघवासिरिति पाठान्तरः
[10] वहृद्विजते इति पाठान्तरः
[11] चन्द्रं चन्द्रिकया इति पाठान्तरः
[12] संसेव्यमानाकतिरिति पाठान्तरः

दुर्गेषु दावदहनः[1] क्षितिभृत्सुवज्रो[2]
माद्यत्करीन्द्र-घटनाविधिसिंहएषः[3] ।
विद्वेषिभूमिपतयो निवसन्ति यत्र
श्रीराघवः[4] क्षितिपतिर्विततप्रतापः[5] ॥५१॥

श्रीराघवो धराधीशः क्षोणीपालशिरोमणिः ।
अकरोद्राज्यमब्दानामुद्दामे दशपञ्च च ॥५२॥

तस्य **श्रीचोडगङ्ग**-क्षितिवलयपतेर्वंशसन्तानवल्ली-
कन्दः **श्रीचन्द्रलेखा**स्फुटमदितिरिति[6] प्रेयसी[7] कश्यपस्य ।
तस्यामुद्दामधामक्षपितदिनमणिर्जज्ञिवान्**राजराजो**
राजन्यक्षोदलीलातिलकितमहिमव्याप्तदिक्चक्रवालः ॥५३॥

तस्मिन् दिग्विजयप्रयाणरसिके **संरम्भसर्पच्चमू**[8]
संक्षुण्णक्षितिचक्रपांशुपटलप्रस्तारवत्यंवरे[9] ।
भूसंपर्क[10]घृणावशाद्दिनमणेरश्वैः प्लुतं सप्तिभिः
शून्यस्तं[11]सुरसिन्दुरेण धरणीपट्टे रदोद्घाटनम्[12] ॥५४॥

चोडगङ्गनरेद्रस्य सूनुरुद्दामविक्रमः ।
राजराज इति ख्यातो **राजराजो** महीपतिः ॥५५॥

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[1] दावदहनमिति पाठान्तरः
[2] सुवज्रमिति पाठान्तरः
[3] घटनाविधिसिंह एषेति पाठान्तरः
[4] श्रीराघवेति पाठान्तरः
[5] प्रभावरिति पाठान्तरः
[6] स्फुटमदितिरिवेति पाठान्तरः
[7] श्रेयसीति पाठान्तरः
[8] संरम्भसर्पच्चमू इति पाठान्तरः
[9] प्राग्भारवत्यंवरे इति पाठान्तरः
[10] भूसंस्पर्शेति पाठान्तरः
[11] सून्यस्तमिति पाठान्तरः
[12] रदोद्घट्टनमिति पाठान्तरः

विश्वं क्रीडयति प्रगल्भवर्चसि[1] प्रालेयशैलद्युते
यद्यद्यादृगभूदभूत[2] सदृशं मन्तस्तदाकर्ण्यताम् ।
चन्द्रः पीठति लङ्कति स्वभवनं प्रासादतं तद्यशो[3]
दिङ्नाथाः प्रतिमन्ति तस्य परितः शत्रुःपदे भृङ्गति[4] ॥५६॥

सानन्दं[5] विदधाति चेतसि भवन् कीर्त्तिर्गुणग्राहिणः
सूते दोहदमर्थिनः प्रतिदिनं[6] श्रीराजराजो ध्रुवं ।
येयं सम्प्रति याति गण्डयुगयो दिक्कुञ्जराणां ध्रुवम्
याचाराभवतां सुसन्धवलयत्याशापतीनां गृहम्[7] ॥५७॥

एतस्यां[8] भुवि पञ्चविंशतिसमाः क्ष्मापाललक्ष्मीधवः
कृत्वा जित्वर चाप[9]चञ्चलभुजा दंभोलिरुर्वीपतिः ।
वीरः प्राज्य[10]यशस्तुषारकिरण-श्रेणीरसावासना-
दुद्गच्छत्सुरलोकवाञ्छितयशाः[11] श्रीराजराजोनृपः ॥५८॥

तस्यानुजो नृपतिराज्य[12]पदेऽभिषिक्त
सूक्तिप्रियः[13] परिमितादिनृपप्रशस्तिः ।

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1 प्रगल्भवयसीति पाठान्तरः
2 यद्यद्यादृगभूदिति पाठान्तरः
धात्री पीठति लिङ्गति सुरचलः प्रासादति त्वद्यशो इति पाठान्तरः
4 "श्रद्धत् पदं भृङ्गति" अथवा "श्रप्टुः पदं मृङ्गति" इति पाठान्तराः
तस्यां यो इति पाठान्तरः
6 सुमनसीति पाठान्तरः
7 The last two lines in some inscriptions are as follow :—
"सेयं कर्णपथं समेत्य हृदये शल्यायते वैरिणां ।
स्वात्मेच्छानुविधायिनां नहि निजो भावः क्वचिद् दृश्यते ॥"
8 तस्यां यो इति पाठान्तरः
9 स्वीयेति पाठान्तरः
10 राज्यं प्राज्येति पाठान्तरः
11 पुरुहूतगीतरचितेति पाठान्तरः
12 नृपतिराजेति पाठान्तरः
13 शूरिप्रियेति पाठान्तरः

पृथ्वीपतिः कलिमलोम्मिम्नतधर्मशुद्धः
कार्य्यक्षमः प्रभुरसावनियङ्कभीमः[1] ।।५६।।

वीराधिष्ठितसङ्गराद्रिशिखरे शंखस्वनामादिके[2]
कुन्तोद्भिन्नमहेभकुम्भविगलन्मुक्तावलीपुञ्जते ।
हर्षादुग्रनिजप्रतापदहने खड्गस्रुवा[3] विद्विषाम्
राज्ञामाननपङ्कजानि नृपतिर्हुत्वा प्रतापश्रियः[4] ।।६०।।

क्षीराब्धेर्मथितात्सुरासुर[5]भुजव्यापारविक्षोभितान्
चन्द्रस्यार्द्धमभूदभूतपयसामीशानमेकं किल[6] ।
चञ्चद्बाहुबलेन संगरभुवि त्वन्खड्गधाराजलान्
जात[7]स्त्वष्टदिगीश्वरान् पृथुयशः चन्द्रः समालिङ्गति[8] ।।६१।।

यत् प्रयाणसमुद्भूतरजः संहारितेम्बरे[9] ।
अभूद्द्विरदनाथस्य[10] धूलीसुन्दरितातनुः[11] ।।६२।।

दशवर्षाणि वीरोऽसौ निर्जितारातिमण्डलः ।
अनंगभीमभूपालो धरित्रीं समपालयत् ।।६३।।

प्रौढानर्गलविक्रमः कुलगृहं यो दण्डनीतिश्रियः
सत्याचारविचारचारुचरितः पुण्यैकपारायणः ।

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1 प्रभुरसादनियङ्कभीमरिति पाठान्तरः

2 'शङ्खस्वनाशामिते' अथवा 'शंखस्वनाशासिते' इति पाठान्तरः

3 'खड्गसृचा' अथवा 'खड्ग शृचा' इति पाठान्तरः

4 'हित्वा नयद्यः श्रियः' अथवा 'गत्वानयद्यः श्रियः' इति पाठान्तरः

5 क्षीरब्धेरमृतात्सुरासुरभुजेति पाठान्तरः

6 चन्द्रस्यार्द्धमभूत्तदप्यधियया वीशानमेकं किलेति पाठान्तरः

7 त्वत्खड्गधाराबलाज्जातेति पाठान्तरः

8 पृथुयशश्चन्द्रस्समालिङ्गतीति पाठान्तरः

9 संपूरितेम्बरे इति पाठान्तरः

10 द्विरदराजस्येति पाठान्तरः

11 धलीमदचिता इति पाठान्तरः

तस्यासीदनियङ्कभीम*नृपतेरर्द्धाङ्गलक्ष्मीः स्वयम्
देहस्यातिशयेन[1] पट्टमहिषी-वाघल्लदेवी भुवि ॥६४॥

तुलितपितृगुणौघः सूनुरासीदमुष्या
निरतिशयिततेजा यौवनावाप्तराज्यः ।
प्रणतनृपतिचूडारत्नरोचिः पिशंगी-
कृतचरणसरोजो राजराजो नृपालः ॥६५॥

तस्योद्यद्वाजिराजि[2]प्रखरखुरपुटाघातनिर्दारितोर्वी-[3]
पृष्ठोत्तिष्ठद्वितानद्युतिशमितदिवानाथतेजः समूहम्[4] ।
विस्तीर्णाकर्णतालाहतिभिरविरतो[5]न्मत्तसेनागजाना-
मष्टानां दिग्गजानां मुखपट-तुलनामादधे धूलिजालम् ॥६६॥

अस्मिन्[6] शासति शासितारिनिकरे[7] सम्यक् समुद्राम्बराम्
पृथ्वीं पार्थिवपुङ्गवे नृपगुणैः[8] श्रीराजराजे नृपे ।
चक्रं[9] माधव एव तैक्ष्ण्यमधिकं कौन्तेयके चिन्तनम्
शास्त्राभ्यासविधौ विशेषजडता[10] काले कले[11] श्रूयते ॥६७॥

यत्कीर्तिदुग्धजलधि[12]र्भुवनान्तरालं
संप्राप्य[13] दूरतरमुच्छ्लितो विभाति[14] ।

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* In some inscriptions Aniyaṅkabhīma is written

1 स्नेहास्यातिशयेनेति पाठान्तरः

2 यस्योद्यद्वाजिवृन्देति पाठान्तरः

3 खुरपुटाघातवेल्लद्धधात्रीति पाठान्तरः

4 संभूतं भूरिभास्वत्करनिकरसमास्फूरसान्द्रं प्रयाणेति पाठान्तरः

रविततो or रविरजो इति पाठान्तरः

6 यस्मिन्निति पाठान्तरः

7 निचयेति पाठान्तरः

8 नयगुणैरिति पाठातरः

9 चक्रेति पाठान्तरः

10 विधेय जडतः इति पाठान्तरः

11 काले कलिरिति पाठान्तरः

12 यत् कीर्तिदुग्जलनिधेति पाठान्तरः

13 संप्लाव्येति पाठान्तरः

14 सुभातीति पाठान्तरः

भासांमणिः स्फुटरुचि[1]र्गगने समन्तात्
सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्म इव यत् परिदर्शनीयः[2] ॥६८॥

त्यागे यो धनदो युद्धे भीमार्जुन-युधिष्ठिरः[3] ।
सदृशोऽयं महाराजो[4] राजराजो महह्पितिः ॥६९॥

राजराजो नरपतिर्दशसप्तश्च वत्सरान् ।
भुवि राजश्रियं भुक्ता स्वाराज्याय प्रतस्थिवान् ॥७०॥

चालुक्यकुल-संभूता वेला-सौन्दर्य्यवारिधेः ।
नाम्ना सद्गुणदेवीति[5] महिषी तस्य भूपतेः ॥७१॥

तस्यामभूदद्भुतविक्रमश्रीः
श्रीमानयं भूभृदनंगभीमः ।
विराजते कीर्त्तिसुधातरङ्गा-[6]
द्धौतामुदग्भित्तिषु यत्प्रशस्तिः ॥७२॥

यस्या[7]नर्गलदोः प्रतापलहरी लावण्यवीचीव्रज[8]-
क्रन्दत्वैरिवधूविलोचनजला[9] पूरैर्धरादन्तुरा ।
किंचोत्सर्ग[10]तरङ्गभङ्गकलनैः पाथोधियानोच्छलाद्[11]
व्रीडावक्रितकन्धरः स भगवान् सिन्धौ[12] पुराणो मुनिः ॥७३॥

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1 तारागणास्फुटरुचो इति पाठान्तरः
2 सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्मतरला इव विस्फुरन्तीति पाठान्तरः
त्यागे शौर्यै च सत्ये च कर्णार्जुनयुधिष्ठिरैरिति पाठान्तरः
4 महावीरो इति पाठान्तरः
मङ्कुणदेवीति or मल्लणदेवीति पाठान्तरः
6 कीर्त्तिसुधातरङ्गैरिति पाठान्तरः
7 तस्या इति पाठान्तरः
यस्यानिर्गलदोर्विलासलहरीलावण्य वैरिव्रजेति पाठान्तरः
9 विलोचनपयरिति पाठान्तरः
10 किञ्चित्त्यागेति पाठान्तरः
11 पाथोधिया नोत्सवादिति पाठान्तरः
12 मन्येति पाठान्तरः

कष्टं भोः[1] कलिरस्मि किंतु[2] विमनाः कस्मै निवेद्यात्मनः
शोकाम्भोधिमपाहरामि कमला[3] किं शिवन् शिवो वा हरिः[4] ।
यः सूरं कलयास्मदीय समये विक्षिप्य[5] गङ्गान्वये
जातः **श्रीमदनंगभीमनृपतिः** सोनर्थं[6] भूतो मम ॥७४॥

ध्यानानुवन्धनिविडप्रसरप्रमोदं
माध्वीकमुग्धमसृणां हृदयारविन्दम् ।
देवः पुराणपुरुषः परिरभ्य यस्य
रोलम्बडम्बरकलां कलयां चकार ॥७५॥

लक्ष्मीरक्षणसौ विदह्लपदवीं प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजाम्
प्राणाकर्षणरज्जु-विभ्रमतुलामुद्दाममासञ्जयन्[7] ।
संग्रामस्थलकेलिताण्डवकलापाण्डित्यमामण्डयन्
यस्यायं जगदद्भुतैकविलसत्क्रीडानटः सायकः ॥७६॥

यस्यानर्गलविक्रमार्जितयशः क्षीरोददानोर्मिभिः
दातारः किल कामगो प्रभृतयः प्रच्छारिता दूरतः ।
किश्चायां च हिरण्यगर्भकलना वैदग्ध्यमाकर्णयन्
लज्जालोलचतुर्मुखाक्षिनिवहो मन्ये महान् पद्मभूः ॥७७॥

येनाभिषेकसमयः कलितत्रयेण
नीतः तुलापुरुषदान-फलानुवन्धैः[8] ।
लब्धापि न क्षितिरमुष्यमुदे तथाभूद्
यादृग् द्विजातिजनशासनदानकेलिः ॥७८॥

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[1] कस्तम्भोरिति पाठान्तरः
[2] किन्नु इति पाठान्तरः
[3] कुशलीति पाठान्तरः
[4] कम्बेत्सिनो मां हरिमिति पाठान्तरः
समयोत्क्षेपायेति पाठान्तरः
[6] सोनर्थीति पाठान्तरः
[7] मानन्दयनेति पाठान्तरः
[8] फलानुवन्धीति पाठान्तरः

आकर्षता-हृदयमेण विलोचनना-
माधुन्वता च परितः प्रतिपार्थिवानाम्[1] ।
अर्थोदय[2]प्रणयिना कृतिनामनंग-
भीम प्रसिद्धममुना[3] विदधे नृपेण ॥७९॥

यो ग्राम[4]धामदेवानां सदेवः सेवकप्रियः ।
भुक्त्वा भुजप्रतापेन त्रयस्त्रिंशत्समा पुमान[5] ॥८०॥

श्रीकस्तुरादेव्यामदितौ तस्माच्च काश्यपादूर्व्याम् ।
जगदुद्धर्त्तुं जातः पातकहंताहरिरिव क्ष्मापः[6] ॥८१॥

असुरेन्द्र-शोणितनिवेशमिश्रितं
परिधीय सोऽथ[7] वहुदानवारिभिः ।
करमात्मनस्तमधुना विशोधय-
नृसिंह[8] एष जगति स्फुटो भवन ॥८२॥

श्वेतातपत्रसितचामरचारुमूर्त्तेः
दिग्दन्तिदन्त[9]परिमण्डलमण्डपस्य ।
अङ्के कृतस्य शुभयां भवया[10] भवान्या
सिंहासने जयति[11] यस्य पदं सदैव ॥८३॥

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[1] परिपार्थिवानेति पाठान्तरः

[2] अर्थान्वयेति पाठान्तरः

[3] प्रसिद्धरधुना इति पाठान्तरः

[4] जगामेति पाठान्तरः

चतुस्त्रिंशत्समाः क्षमामिति पाठान्तरः

[6] फलानुवन्धैरिति पाठान्तरः

निवेश विशृतामपनोनयैवेति पाठान्तरः

'विशोधयन्नरसिंह' Should be read for the sake of the metre *'Mañjubhāṣiṇī'*

दिग्दन्तिदण्डेति पाठान्तरः

[10] सुतभावनया इति पाठान्तरः

[11] जगतीति पाठान्तरः

राढानरेन्द्र-यवनीनयनाञ्जनाश्रु-
पूरेण दूर विनिवेशितकालिमश्रीः ।
तद्विप्रलंभकरणाद्भुतनिस्तरङ्गा-
गंगापि नूनममुना विदधे नृपेण[1] ।।८४।।

भुज-भुवि-गिरयोष्टौ यस्य भूमीन्द्रभर्त्तुः
क्षितिभरणसमर्थाः किञ्च दिक्कुञ्जरेन्द्राः ।
अतुल यदिह शश्वच्चेत् तुलापौरुषेण
क्व भवतु कनकाद्रिर्देवतानां गृहाभृत् ।।८५।।

कुर्वन् प्रकाशमनिशं द्विजसाच्च कृत्वा
मेरुं तुलापुरुषमुख्यमहार्थदानैः ।
स्वान्तः सुरैः सह सद्दकलयन् त्रिकोणा-[2]
कोणे कुटीरकमठी-कृतमुष्णरश्मिः[3] ।।८६।।

अष्टाशां चक्रवाल-भ्रमणरय[4] महायास-सम्भावितक्षुत्
क्षावेक्षूदन्वदम्भत्युपगत अपि चालब्धसत्वासुरायाम्[5] ।
सर्पिः संसर्पदायुः दधिमधुरमथास्वाद्य दुग्धेन तृप्ता
यत्कीर्त्तिः कान्तमूर्त्तिः सलिलनिधिमथा काममाचामतीव[6] ।।८७।।

कृत्वा निर्मथितद्विषं वसुमती[7]मब्दां त्रयस्त्रिंशताम्
भुक्त्वा भोगमनुत्तमं नरपतिर्दोर्गर्वसर्वंकषः ।
स्नेहात्यन्त विना कृतोन्तिमदशामासाद्य दीपोपमः
प्राप्तः कालपतङ्गपुङ्गवदशां[8] यातिस्म निर्वाणताम् ।।८८।।

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1 गङ्गापि नूनममुना यमुनाधुनाभूत् इति पाठान्तरः

2 स्थातुं सुरैः सय महत्कलयन्ति कोणा- इति पाठान्तरः

3 रश्मेः इति पाठान्तरः

4 भ्रमणरणेति पाठान्तरः

5 क्षारेक्षुदनवदस्योपगमितमपि[वा]लंघयित्वा सुराब्धीति पाठान्तरः

6 कामसारावतीवेति पाठान्तरः

7 द्विषद्वसुमतीति पाठान्तरः

8 पुङ्गववशामिति पाठान्तरः

तस्य श्रीमान् सुदिनविदधे मालवेन्द्रात्मजायाम्
सीतादेव्यामजनि तनुजो भानुवद् भानुदेवः ।
पद्मोल्लासं विदधदतुलं कैरवम्लानमुत्रै-
र्वृत्तध्वंसी परधरणिभृन्मौलिविन्यस्तपादः ॥८६॥

पृत्युज्जीवनकारणौर्जनपदस्थाभ्यस्तनित्यागमै-
र्दृष्टादृष्टफलप्रदेन विधिना नित्यं निरस्तारिभिः ।
पात्रैः षोड़शभिर्विशुद्धचरितामोघप्रतिज्ञैरयं
साम्राज्ये महितो महामहिमभृल्लक्ष्मीपतेराज्ञया ॥६०॥

वद्धमुष्टिरपि निर्भरदाता
वेपनोपि समरैकधूरिणः ।
उग्रमूर्त्तिरपि कृष्णशरीरो
यत्करेण कलितः[1] करवालः ॥६१॥

पायं पायं हविरविरतं प्रस्तुते यस्य यज्ञे
जाते जीर्णो हरिरतितरां याति निद्रां समुद्रे ।
धूमोद्गारीलवणसलिलं पीयते[2] वाडवाग्निः
प्रोद्यच्छूलः समजनि शिवः कालकूटाशनोऽपि ॥६२॥

ब्रूमः किमस्य तुलनां लघुतोपनीतं
तत्तत् प्रतिक्षितिभृतः किल दानशौण्डान्[3] ।
सद्यो यदेप[4] कनकाचल-कामधेनु-
कल्पद्रुमानकृत[5] निर्जित सम्पदस्तान् ॥६३॥

आचन्द्रार्कफलोपभोगसुलभान्यत्युच्चसौधावली-
शोभाविस्फुरितानि शासनसतान्येव क्षमाया गुरुः[6] ।

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[1] करितरिति पाठान्तरः

[2] प्राप्नुते इति पाठान्तरः

[3] तत्तद् परक्षितिभृतः किल दानशौर्यमिति पाठान्तरः

[4] सभ्योपदेशेति पाठान्तरः

[5] कल्पद्रुमानदतीति पाठान्तरः

[6] शतान्येकः क्षमाधीश्वररिति पाठान्तरः

सुच्छायानि रसाल-पूग-पनश[1]प्रायैस्तरूणां गणैः
कृत्वा ताम्रविलेखितानि विधिवत्सत्श्रोत्रियेभ्यो ददौ ॥९४॥

चिन्तामणौ सुरमहीरुह-कामधेना-
वष्टादशाङ्कमधितिष्ठति भानुदेवे ।
ज्यायानमीषु भविता कतमोममेति[2]
धातुर्विचार[3]वशगो नृपतिर्बभुव ॥९५॥

चालुक्यकुलसंभूता श्रीमज्जाकल्लदेविका ।
लक्ष्मीर्नारायणस्येव भानुदेवस्य तादृशी ॥९६॥

तस्या सूनुरभूद्वीरः श्रीनृसिंह महीपतिः ।
गङ्गवंशसमुद्धर्त्ता हर्त्ता वैरिमहीतलम् ॥९७॥

यथार्जुनस्तथा शस्त्रे शास्त्रे वाचस्पतीर्यथा ।
दानेकर्णो वले भीमः सौन्दर्य्ये कुसुमायुधः ॥९८॥

तेन दत्तं द्विजातेभ्यः शासनं शतसंख्यकम् ।
महादानानि दानानि श्रीमन्मातुरनुज्ञया ॥९९॥

वीरश्रीनरसिंहदेवनृपतौ सिंहासनाधिष्ठिते
भूमीपाल-किरीटकोटिकिरण-प्रद्योतितांघ्रीद्वये
प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपा विदीर्णहृदया भीत्या प्रहीणाश्रियः[4]
प्राणत्राणपरायणाः समभवन् पृथ्वीधरावासिनः ॥१००॥

यस्मिन् प्रशासति भुवः[5] कुलभूधरेन्द्राः
कूर्मो भुजङ्गमपतिर्दिहगोकपाश्च[6] ।
भूभारगौरवकृतातिशिरो-विकारा
विश्रान्तिलाभमभजन्त कृताशिषश्च ॥१०१॥

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[1] रसाल-पूग-कदलीति पाठान्तरः

[2] भुवि भीरुतमो ममेतीति पाठान्तरः

धत्ते विचारेति पाठान्तरः

[4] प्रहीनाश्रयरिति पाठान्तरः

[5] भुवमिति पाठान्तरः

[6] पतिर्गगनेकपाश्चेति पाठान्तरः

वीरासनं समधितिष्ठति कुञ्जराणा-
म्वीरोवहेन्द्रणधुरां भुवि कोत्र नाम ।
ईन्द्रायुधप्रभभुजद्वयमद्वितीये[1]
कम्पन्तनोति करवाललतापि यत्र ॥१०२॥

यो खड्गचण्डमहता रिपुराजकाना-
माहृत्य सम्पदममर्त्यतरोः समानाम् ।
भूदेवसादकृत भूतलभूषणेन
दानाम्भसार्द्रितलसत्करपल्लवेन ॥१०३॥

यस्याथ क्षितिपालमौलिवडभीविन्यस्तपादाम्बुज-
स्याहो हन्त कुमुच्यतेद्य महिमा-कीर्त्ति-नृपश्रीभृतः ।
यद्गीतं[2] किल किन्नरीगणमुखाद्दिग्दन्तिनां शृण्वतां
रोलम्बामदमापिबन्ति निभृतन्निःकर्णभाले[3] मुखे ॥१०४॥*

यस्येष्टासुदृढव्रतस्य विजयी वन्द्यः प्रतापः परं
सच्छूलाक्रियमाणसप्ततरसप्रख्याः कुलक्ष्माभृतः ।
स्थालीपाकमुपाश्रयन्ति च यतश्चत्वार एवाब्धयो
दिग्भ्रान्तिम्भजते यतोऽम्बरमणिर्नाथः[4] सहस्रत्विषाम् ॥१०५॥

अभ्युल्लास्य कलङ्कपङ्करहितः सोङ्कैश्चतुस्त्रिंशति
राज्यं प्राज्यमवर्जवान् कृतिजने मर्य्यादया मेदुरः ।
जेतुं जम्भजितं जगाम विभवैर्भव्यैर्भवस्योत्तमो
वीरश्रीनरसिंहदेवपृथिवीनाथः प्रथीयान् गुणैः ॥१०६॥

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1 द्वयसद्वितीयेति पाठान्तरः

2 यद्गीतिमिति पाठान्तरः

3 निभृतं निःकर्ण्णभालेति पाठान्तरः

* After this, there are sixteen new verses of which serven are given in Punjabi Maṭha (Puri) plates of Bhānudeva (II) (*Vide O. H. R. J.* Vol. IX, PP. 19—29) and the rest including some mentioned above are given in Kaijang plates of Bhānudeve (III) of Śakābda 1284 (*Vide O. H. R. J.* Vol. XIV, Nos. 3 & 4, PP. II—24 ff.

4 यतो सुरमणिर्नाथरिति पाठान्तरः

तस्माद् विस्मयदापि पौरुपभरः **श्रीचोडदेवी**-सुतः
तद्भद्रासनमध्यरोहद्वनौ यः कल्पभूमीरुहः ।
गोविन्दस्य पदारविन्दरजसा सान्द्रीकृतानन्दविद्-
भानोरप्यधिकप्रतापतपन-**श्रीभानुदेवप्रभुः** ॥१०७॥

क्षीरोदः केलिकुल्या स्मरहरशिखरी-मण्डप-प्रातिकृत्यः
संख्ये लेखांवुदायाः ऋतुपरिसरसं श्रासनस्या[द] वृहत्तत् (?)
........U.. कुसुमशरमितीशादनापत्रभङ्गं
स्वर्गङ्गा यस्य गोत्रावलय सचकिताः कीर्त्तिनारीक्षणाया ॥१०८॥*

पाण्डित्य मण्डित महाकवि-मण्डलस्य
किं ब्रूमहेऽस्त्रविषये कुशलत्वमस्य ।
आकर्णकुण्डलितकर्मुकादण्डमात्रे
यस्यारिभूपतिगणः श्रुतिमेवयाति ॥१०६॥

आसीद् येन सपत्नवान् सवनदान् वह्निः समुद्योतन-
संजातः पुनरुक्त एव भगवान् भाषामधीशेश्वराः ।
यस्यापादमराधिपोस्तु विगलत्स्पर्द्धेयुसेनावली
तस्या क्षीणरणावसोरनर्गलपति ब्रूमः प्रतापं किमु ॥११०॥*

संख्ये यत्तूर्य्यघोषः प्रतनभयरहं पूतमन्त्रोत्तमत्वा
सैन्योद्रेकात् वलोभूद्धरणिधरजये यत्कृपाणे प्रणीता
किञ्चित् क्लुप्तावशेषव्रजति जनपथं भूतले रेणुजालैः
अश्वक्षोदाङ्कृता धीः कमठपतिरपि प्रोलसत् कत्रपीठः ॥१११॥

उन्मीलस्थूलवेलास्फुरिततरयशः पुष्पशुभ्रीकृताशः
लेशो ये सः (?) समत्वात्प्रवलकरिपति स्कन्द संशायतोन्वन् ।
यस्य क्षोणीतलेपु क्षतजजनसुरासान्द्रपानप्रमत्त-
क्रोडाद्धे तान्तजैत्रालितभणितभुजस्तम्भसंभूततेजाः ॥११२॥*

पृथ्वीपालशिरोसरोरुहहारककराद्धानोस्ततः क्ष्मापते-
र्भूमीमण्डलमण्डनैकतिलकः श्रीमान्नृसिंहो जनि ।
योयं गन्ति महीभृतः प्रतिभटाः साक्षात् कृतान्तो पुरो
धामायन्न चतुष्पदः कलियुगेप्यास्ते निरस्तेन सा ॥११३॥

* The reading of the verse is not correct owing to obliteration of the copper plate.

किं ब्रूमश्चरितः नृसिंहनृपतेर्वाणीकला-कैतव
तेऽपिपीयतरङ्गमम्बरतलात् पृथ्वीङ्गनातीतरत् ।
ये धाता चतुराननः समजनि स्तोतुं गुणानां निधिं
यद्वापूर्वजितस्मरं सुरपतेर्गीते सहस्रेक्षणः ॥११६॥

श्रियं ददानो च पुरस्करोति
महीभृतो यः शरण-प्रविष्टान् ।
रूपत्वभङ्गस्य तथापि यस्य
नान्येति भीयास्य नदीश्वरोऽपि ॥११७॥

संख्ये नटत्तुरगवृन्दखुरानदीभूद्-
रेणुभिर्जगति भूरितरार्थकारिपौ ।
वमिणा विनिहतीस्त्रिदिवं व्रजन्ति यं
यश्च प्रतापतपनस्य विजृम्भणं तत् ॥११८॥

प्रतिस्थाने कण्ठे विकचकुसुमामोदिततनो
लतायाः संसर्गं तरुवरमभिप्रेक्षितवती ।
स्मरन्ती संभोगं प्रियतमपरीरम्भ-सुरसं
वनान्ते स्वच्छाये विदरि हरिणाक्षी न व्रजति ॥११९॥

जगत्त्रयीवेश्मनि तिष्ठमानिते
हुतानले संक्षिणयोग-जन्मिनः ।
गृहन् करश्चारुदिगङ्गनानां
नारीभवद्भूतल शीतलाशः ॥१२०॥

भीमोप्यनङ्कनकवि कृपणो यस्य भूपतेः
मुच्छ्रोऽपि रागतनुते तनैवैरिमहीभृतः ॥१२१॥

दृप्यन्प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिकरि-करटोरायुनिःशेपलेखा-
न्येनिष्टा-मुक्त-मुक्तापिटल कपटतः केतकश्वेतकान्तिः ।
लीलोदर्थं प्रपानानल-रुचिरशिखाधौतलोकेन तेन
संग्रामे येन भूमीवलयतरणिना मूर्त्तिमान् कीर्त्तिराशिः ॥१२२॥

व्यर्थं स्वर्गमहीभृता धनपतेराशानुवृत्तिः कृता
यस्तारे शरणं सुधीसुरतरुर्जातो वने नन्दने ।

करणों: कर्णपथं जगाम न तदा चाकीर्त्तिवृत्या द्विपे
यस्मिन् दातरिराजराजविभवे भूमण्डलाखण्डले ॥१२३॥

प्रिया जाकल्लदेवीति तस्यासीद् भानुक्ष्मापतेः ।
कटाक्षपातनिक्षिप्त कन्दर्पकर-शायका ॥१२४॥

अन्तःपुरवधूवृन्दचूडामणि-मरीचिभिः ।
कृत नीराजना नित्यं यत्पादकमलद्वयी ॥१२५॥

तस्मामभूदद्भुतविक्रमश्रीः
कविप्रिय-**श्रीनरसिंहदेवः** ।
आकर्णयन् यस्य कुमारकाले
कथां कुमारोऽपि जहाति वर्गम् ॥१२६॥

श्रीवीरभानुनृपतौ त्रिदिवेश्वरस्य
तस्मिन् प्रयातिपदवीं सुरवृन्दवन्द्यम् ।
वर्षाणि सप्तदश भूवलयं भुजाभ्यां
भुक्त्वा तु यः सपदि शत्रुकुलं विभेद ॥१२७॥

कन्दर्पो हरिणीदृशां रिपुगजश्रेणीषु पञ्चाननो
वादे व्यन्मति (?) रिन्दु[1] सुन्दरमुखः **श्रीमान्नृसिंहो** नृपः ।
यद्दोर्दण्डकृपाणदारितपरपृथ्वीप्रतिप्रोच्छल-
द्रक्तोघाम्बु[2]नदीक्षरित्क्षविदहा[3]नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति ॥१२८॥

आकर्ण्य विश्वविबुधावलिकर्णकूप-
संपूरणामृतवशापि तमन्यमेव ।
वाचां विलासमसकृत्कविवल्लभस्य
वाचां यशो भवति वाच्यतिरेव[4] यस्य ॥१२९॥

तस्य प्राणप्रिया-**चोडदेवी**-दैवतवल्लभा ।
रूप-यौवन-सौभाग्य-निर्जिताखण्डलप्रिया ॥१३०॥

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1 भूतेव द्युतिरिन्दु इति पाठान्तरः
2 द्रकायास्तु इति पाठान्तरः
3 क्षरित्क्षविदहो इति पाठान्तरः
4 वाक्पतिरेवेति पाठान्तरः

अजनि रजनिजानि श्रीरियं **चोडदेव्या-**
मसित-नृपतिरत्नं गङ्गवंशावतंसः ।
परनरपति-लक्ष्मीमौलिरत्न-प्रभाभिः
शवलित इव नित्यं लक्ष्यते यस्य पादः ॥१३१॥

चतुस्त्रिंशद्वर्षाण्यवनिवलयं निर्गतरिपुं
निरातङ्को भुक्त्वा हरिचरणसेवा-सुरसिकः ।
सुराधीशस्यार्द्धासनविहितसम्मानकृतुकं
समस्ते यः सख्यं कविकुमुदचन्द्रो नरपतिः ॥१३२॥

विद्यानां वासभूमिर्विषमशर-भूदारलक्ष्मीभुजङ्गो[1]
धौरेयः शस्त्रभाजां निजनगरवधूलोचनानन्द-चन्द्रः ।
वीरश्रीभानुदेवो भुजयुगपरिखा-यान्त्रीतां शास्ति पृथ्वीम्
ताते पौरन्दराणां[2] हरिणशिशुदृशां कामुकत्वं प्रयाति ॥१३३॥

राहुः यस्य **गयासदीन**-समरप्रारब्धशौर्य-क्षत-
प्रौढानेकनरेन्द्रकन्दरगलत्कीलालपुर्णावनी ।
तत्काल क्षतवक्षसां करिकुलास्फालोत्थितः[3] शोणिताः
मारोद्यापि[4] दिगन्तरेस्ति विलसत्सन्ध्यानुरागच्छलात् ॥१३४॥

भूषणं कवचर्यस्य निवासो भूभृताश्रियः ।
निकेतः सर्वविद्यानां **भानुदेवो** महीपतिः ॥१३५॥

न नामतः केवलमर्थतोऽपि
प्रियाभवत्तस्य नृपस्य लक्ष्मीः ।
वेलेव लावण्यसरित्प्रियस्य
लतेव सौजन्य महीरुहस्य ॥१३६॥

जातस्तस्यां रिपुकरिघटाभेदसिंहो **नृसिंहो**
यो वालोऽपि क्षितिपतिशिरो मौलिमालां पिनष्टि ।

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[1] विद्यानां वासभूमिर्विषमवरभुवो राजलक्ष्मीभुजङ्गो इति पाठान्तरः
[2] पौरन्दरी नामिति पाठान्तरः
[3] करिकुलस्फारोत्थितरिति पाठान्तरः
[4] सारेद्यापीती पाठान्तरः

श्रुत्वा यस्योदयदिनकथाः शत्रुभूमीपतीनाम
हारव्याजत्पतति हृदये वीरत्नदम्यश्रुपूरः ॥१३७॥

वीरभानु-धराधीशश्चतुर्विंशति-वत्सरान् ।
भुक्त्वा महीं सुगाधीश-शासनस्यार्द्ध भागभूत् ॥१३८॥

ताते सुरेन्द्रवनितानयनारविन्द-
संन्दोह विस्मयभुजि क्षितिपालरत्ने ।
यः शासति क्षितिमिमामरिराजराजि-
राजीवसीतकिरणो नरसिंहदेवः ॥१३९॥

कर्णाः कर्णपथं न याति कृतिना यद्दानमाकर्णयन्
ते कल्पद्रुम-कामगोप्रभृतयः संप्रार्थना-दायिनः ।
लोकेभ्यो यदयं ददाति सततं ध्येयन्न तच्चतसा[1]
किं ब्रमो महिमानमस्य नृपतेर्लोकत्रयाह्लादिनः ॥१४०॥

तुलापुरुषदानेषु श्रीनृसिंह महीपतेः ।
भजन्ति न तुलायस्य भुवि कर्णादयो नृपाः ॥१४१॥

तुरङ्गराजीखुर[2] विक्षतोर्वीक्षरद्रवोभिः कलितेऽन्तरीक्षे ।
यस्य प्रयाणेन्वयमाश्रयन्ति मन्दाकिनी पङ्कजकाननानि ॥१४२॥

तस्य कामलदेवीति प्रिया सद्वंशभूपजा ।
अन्तःपुरवधूमौलि-माल्यार्चित-पदद्वया ॥१४३॥

भानुवद्भानुदेवोयं जातस्तस्यां महीपतिः
कमलानन्दन-श्रीमानुच्चैरुच्चैर्महीक्षिताम् ॥१४४॥

गङ्गान्वये नरहरेर्नृपतेस्तनुजः
सन्मित्र-पङ्कज-विकाश-सहस्रभानुः ।
श्रीभानुदेव इति भूपतिराविरास्ते
यस्तेजसा रिपुतमोनिवहं निरुद्धे ॥१४५॥

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[1] ध्यायान्न तच्चेतसा इति पाठान्तरः

[2] तुरङ्गराजीक्षरेति पाठान्तरः

तातेे पुरन्दरपुरीतिलकायमाने
भुक्त्वा तु विंशतिसमाः[1] सहिताश्चतुर्भिः ।
यो रक्षति क्षितिमनर्गलदो प्रताप-
ज्वालीवली[2]कवलितारि तृणां प्रमाणौः ॥१४६॥

यस्य प्रस्थानकाले तुरगखुरपुटोद्धूत-धूलीकलापैः
संछन्ने तिग्मभानौ दिशि दिशि सहसा संकुचन्त्यम्बुजानि ।
खिद्यन्ते चक्रवाकाः सहचर-तरुणी[3] विप्रयोगं भजन्तः
किं च स्वेच्छाभिसारं कलयति परितः स्वैरिणीनां समूहः ॥१४७॥

वेलोल्लसद्विद्रुमशंखसार्थ-
व्याजेन यस्यारिनिसूदनस्य ।
तेजो यशश्चान्यनृपैरलंघ्यं[4]
व्यनक्ति नित्यं सरितामधीशः ॥१४८॥

हीरादेवीति तस्यासीन्महिषी महितागुणैः ।
चालुक्यकुलसंभूता लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीपतेरिव ॥१४९॥

तस्यामजायत दयाविनय-प्रभाव-
सौन्दर्य्य-धैर्य्यनयकीर्त्ति-कलानिवासः ।
वीरः कुमार इव पर्वतराजपुत्र्याम्
विश्व-प्रसिद्ध-महिमा-नरसिंहदेवः ॥१५०॥

तेजोद्धतं किमपि भाविकमुन्नयद्भिः
संभावितः शिशुवयस्यपि यस्य पादः ।
नीराज्य[5] एव [पर]-भूपति-[मौलिरत्न]-
मूर्द्धन्ति वारि कमला विकरोत्करीश्च[6] ॥१५१॥

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[1] भुक्त्वानुर्विंशति-समारिति पाठान्तरः
[2] ज्वालावलीति पाठान्तरः
[3] गृहिणीति पाठान्तरः
[4] तेजोयशख्यातनृप्पैरलंघैरिति पाठान्तरः
[5] नाराज्येति पाठान्तरः
[6] विकरोत्कराश्चेति पाठान्तरः

एतेन सर्वगुणरत्न-विभूषणेन
विद्याविवेक-विमलीकृत-मानसेन ।
नारायणेन वसुदेव इवात्मजेन
प्रीतिर्निरन्तरमविन्दत-भानुदेवः ॥१५२॥

स षड्विंशति-वर्षाणि भुक्त्वा राज्यमकण्टकम्
नयनानन्दनः श्रीमान् प्राप्तः पौरन्दरी-पुरीम् ॥१५३॥

ततः कृतज्ञे समुपाश्यमानः
सन्मन्त्रिभिः श्रीनरसिंहदेवः ।
महीपति[1]र्नीतिकथानुवर्त्ती
विभर्त्ति पृथ्वीवलयं भुजेन ॥१५४॥

प्रस्तुन्वन् क्षणमुन्मनाः प्रपतयं[2] गीताभिनीनिष्क्रमं
शून्यध्यानमिषान्मुहुर्दिविपदां शस्त्रेषु वद्धस्पृहः ।
हेलानिर्जित-पञ्चवाणविभवा संगप्रभा[3]मीक्षितुं
यस्येनोपिणि[4] यौवने सुरवर[5]वर्गः क्षितिं कांक्षति ॥१५५॥

तर्कः षाड्गुण्यमन्त्री समरगुरुभरे वाहुरेकः[6] सहायः
सौर्य्यं सर्वाङ्गरक्षा निजरिपुहनने हेतयो यस्य सेनाः ।
स श्रीमानुत्कलेन्द्रः प्रतिनृपतिशिरःश्रेणिषु क्रीडदाजौ[7]
वाक्षालो-केलिमाद्यत्करिवर विलसद्वीरलक्ष्मीर्विभाति ॥१५६॥

यद्दूरप्रसयान्नरः समरभूः कङ्कालमालाकुला
यल्लोके शतयज्ञतोऽपि गहनः यच्छानदीनैः सुरैः[8] ।

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[1] महामतीति पाठान्तरः
[2] प्रतयेति पाठान्तरः
[3] गङ्गप्रभा इति पाठान्तरः
[4] नोषिनीति पाठान्तरः
[5] सुरवधू इति पाठान्तरः
[6] वाहुचक्रमिति पाठान्तरः
[7] क्रीडामानो इति पाठान्तरः
[8] य मानवीणैः सुरैरिति पाठान्तरः

यत्कान्तेषु पुरातनेषु विरसः स्ववीरनारीगण-
स्ता एताः खलु तस्य[1] वैरिजपितो वीरस्य विक्रान्तयः ॥१५७॥

नेत्राम्बुपूरपरिवद्ध-महापगासु[2]
लम्बालकां श्रजनिपीतमुखेन्दुभासु ।
प्रत्यर्थिमन्दिर-पुरन्ध्रि-सभासु येन
क्लुप्तां सदैववसतिर्जलदागमस्य ॥१५८॥

कुर्वन् कुक्षिं भरित्वं प्रतिकृतिकपटादाहृतैः संयुगीनैः
प्रत्यङ्गं चाङ्ग-दम्भा[3]दविरलपुलकव्याकृतान्तः[4] प्रमोदः ।
प्रत्यग्राशीभिमिश्र[5] स्फुरितरुचिरयादग्रधीराग्रहासो[6]
वैरिव्रातप्रमाये कणामपि न दधे पत्तपाणः कृपायाः ॥१५६॥

ईषद्रोषकषायितेन मनसा प्रत्यर्थिराज्यस्थिति[7]
प्रस्थानप्रहितैर्वलैस्ततरिणो यस्योत्तरङ्गीकृताः ।
श्रद्यापि स्फुटपुण्डरीकपटलश्रीवर्गसर्वंकषैः
फेनैः कीर्त्तिमुदाहरन्ति विबुधाः गोदावरी-वीचयः ॥१६०॥

नीरर्गलं सैव लताधगामिनीं
स पीडयन्नेव करेण गामिमाम् ।
वृषं पुरष्कृत्य समीहितं दुह-
नदृष्टपूर्वं स्फुटमेति गोपताम् * ॥१६१॥

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1 त्येषा इति पाठान्तरः

2 परिवर्द्धिमहापगासु इति पाठान्तरः

3 चाङ्कदम्भा इति पाठान्तरः

4 विषकृतातरिति पाठान्तरः

5 प्रत्यग्रास्ताभीति पाठान्तरः

6 जग्रहासाग्रहासो or दग्रद्धामाग्रहासो इति पाठान्तरः

7 कालिङ्ग राज्यस्थिति or कलिङ्गराजश्रियै इति पाठान्तरः

* The same verse is found in the *Sahṛdayānanda Mahākāvyaṃ*, by Kṛṣṇānanda *Sandhivigrahika Mahāpātra*, an officer of Narasimhadeva *IV*. (A. D. 1378—1414.), as quoted below :—

निरर्गलं शैल-वनाभिगामिनी-
मपीडयन्नेव करेण गामिनी ।
वृषं पुरष्कृत्य समीहितं दुह-
न्नदृष्टपूर्वां स्फुटमापगोपताम् ॥ (Vide *S. N.* Canto 2).

किं ब्रूमः क्षौणिभर्त्तुर्जगति विजयतेस्तस्य दानप्रकर्षे
येन स्तब्धाद्द्य लोके वितरणविहितख्याति यः कल्पवृक्षाः ।
चूतश्चिन्तामणिस्तु क्वचिदपि गहने वर्त्यते क्ष्माधराणां
व्रीडानम्रा च शंके वहुवहति तृणान्याननै कामधेनुः ॥१६२॥

यस्मिन् राजनि राजनीति-चतुरो संरक्षति क्ष्मामिमा-
मिन्दोरेव कलङ्किता सुरपतेरेवास्ति गोत्रारिता ।
शम्भोरेव विषादिता रतिपतिरेवेश्वरद्वेषिता
विष्णोरेव विवर्ण्णिता जलनिधेरेव क्षमाहीनता ॥१६३॥

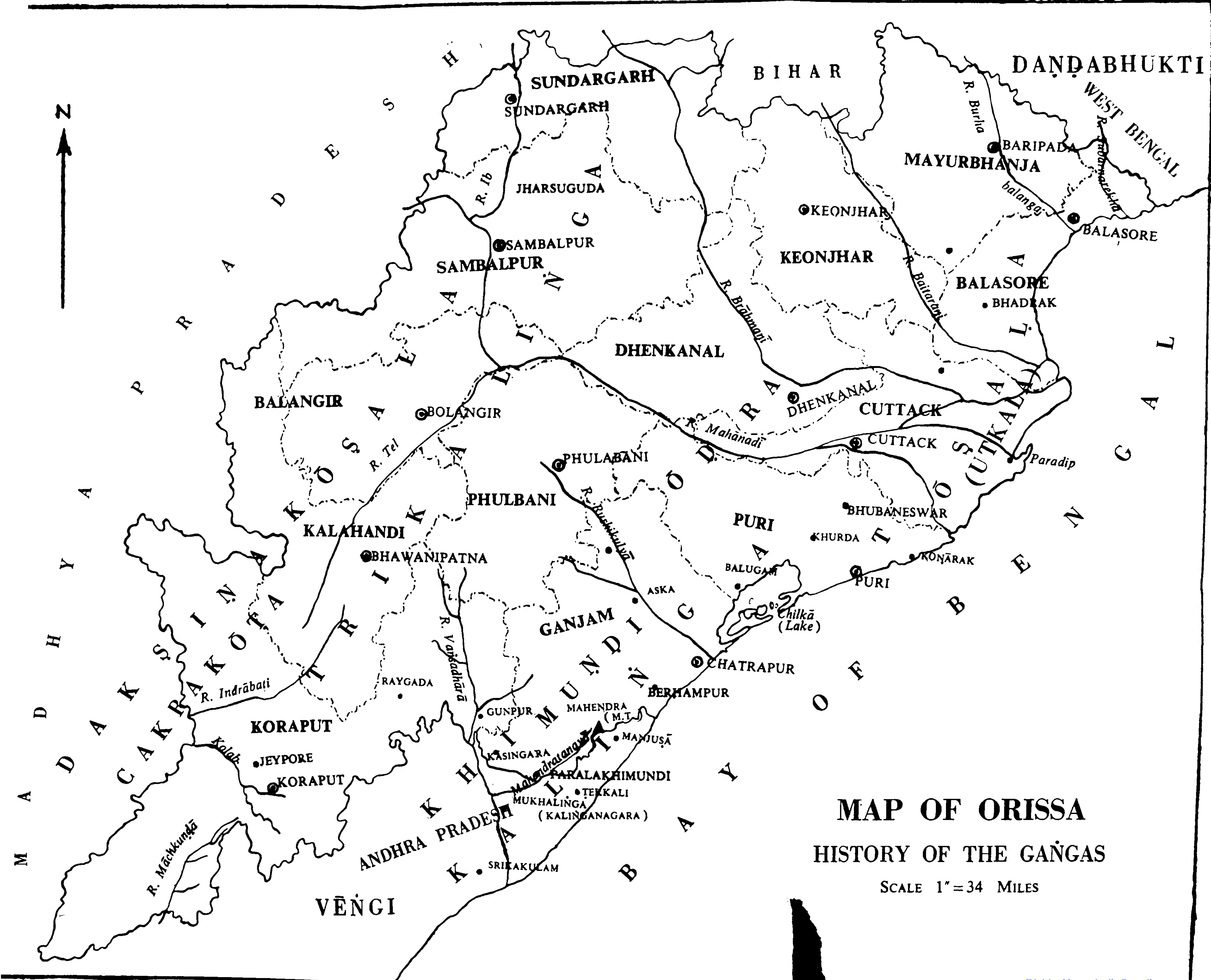
वीरः श्रीमान् जयति सकलक्ष्मातलख्यातकीर्त्ति-
र्नेत्रानन्दः सरसिज दृशां भूपतिः श्रीनृसिंहः ।
केषाकृष्टि प्रतिहतशिरोरत्न-निर्भिन्नवेणी-
येनाकारी प्रथमसमरे वैरिणां वीरलक्ष्मः ॥१६४॥

यश्चञ्चद्वाजि-प्रखरखुरभरोद्धूतधूलीकलापै-
र्वैकुण्ठस्यापि जातः कृत कमठतनोः स्तोकभारावतारः ।
सङ्ग्रामाम्भोधिगच्छद्विरदघनघटा प्रक्षरद्दानधारा-
सारान्मुक्ताप्रयाति क्षरदमरधुनीं यद्यशो राजहंसः ॥१६५॥

आकर्ण्याकर्ण्य यस्य द्रविणवितरण प्रक्रमाविक्रमार्थे[1]
रत्नस्वास्यान्ति चिन्तामणि-विबुधगवी-कल्पवृक्षाविलक्षाः ।
स श्रीमान् वैरिवीर-प्रमदगजघटा-तुङ्गकुम्भस्थलानाम्
प्रौढः पञ्चाननोयं जगति विजयते भूपति-श्रीनृसिंहः ॥१६६॥

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[1] विक्रमान्नित्यमेवेति पाठान्तरः


MAP OF ORISSA
HISTORY OF THE GANGAS
SCALE 1" = 34 MILES
N
BIHAR
DANDABHUKTI
WEST BENGAL
SUNDARGARH
JHARSUGUDA
SAMBALPUR
MAYURBHANJA
BARIPADA
BALASORE
KEONJHAR
BHADRAK
DHENKANAL
CUTTACK
Paradip
BALANGIR
BOLANGIR
PHULABANI
PHULBANI
KALAHANDI
BHAWANIPATNA
PURI
BHUBANESWAR
KHURDA
KONARAK
BALUGAM
ASKA
Chilkā (Lake)
GANJAM
CHATRAPUR
BERHAMPUR
RAYGADA
GUNPUR
MAHENDRA (M.T.)
MANJUSĀ
KASINGARA
PARALAKHIMUNDI
TEKKALI
MUKHALINGA (KALINGANAGARA)
SRIKAKULAM
KORAPUT
JEYPORE
ANDHRA PRADESH
VĒṄGI
MADHYA PRADESH
DAKSINA KOSALA
CAKRAKOTA
TRIKALINGA
KALINGA
ODRA
TŌSALI
UTKALA
KHIMUNDI
GANGA
BAY OF BENGAL
R. Ib
R. Tel
R. Indrābati
R. Kolab
R. Māchkunda
R. Vamsadhārā
Mahendratanaya
R. Mahānadi
R. Brāhmani
R. Baitarani
R. Burha
Subarnarekha
balanga
R. Rushikulya

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Abbreviations :—(c) = country, (d) = district, (e. s.) = Ex-state, (e) = emperor, (ft) = fort, (f) = family, (g) = god, (h) = hill, (k) = king, (l) = language, (m) = mountain, (o) = officer, (p) = province, (q) = queen, (r) = river, (t) = town or city, (v) = village, (z) = zamindary or zamindar.

(A)

(B)

(C)

(D)

(E)

(F)

(G)

(H)

(I)

(J)

(K)

(L)

(M)

(N)

(O)

(P)

(Q)

(R)

(S)

(T)

(U)

(V)

(W)

(Y)

(Z)

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